University of Alberta

Stony Plain: Making and Representing a Heritage Community

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy*

Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 2004

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Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 0-612-96020-X
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 0-612-96020-X

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Printed by Fuller & Benecke (37 x 46.2 cm), Purchased 1970
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Kane, Paul. White Mud Portage, Winnipeg River 1856
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Acknowledgements

Yeah! My dissertation is finally completed and I have many, very special and helpful people to thank.

Thanks to….

My doctoral committee: Dr. Gamal Abdel-Shehid for being supportive of my work, and a caring friend. Dr. jan jagodzinski for introducing me to media and representational literacy, and being encouraging and confident in my project. Dr. Hope Olson for coming onto my committee, agreeing to stay there (even after a move to Wisconsin), and encouraging me to complete the work. Dr. Lisa Panayotidis (my external) for the important role that you played in my defence, and for the encouragement that you have provided since.

To Dr. Debra Shogan, my doctoral supervisor and good friend. In many ways, there is not enough room for me to write about all the amazing qualities that makes you a wonderful supervisor, a valued friend, an inspirational coach and earnest cheerleader. I just want you, and anyone else who reads these acknowledgements to know, that you have inspired my academic work, and shown me (through you actions and principles) what it is to be a good teacher and ethical administrator. But, most of all, I want you to know that I value your friendship.

I would also like to acknowledge the academic encouragement and camaraderie of a fine group of folks, affectionately known as the Remedy Group. So cheers to: Gamal Abdel-Shehid, Karen Calzonetti, Mike Cantelon, Debra Capon, Judy Davidson, Bruce Erickson, Gloria Filax, Audrey Giles, Joannie Halas, Lori Hanson, Michelle Helstein, Brett Lashua, Rebecca Lock, Chelsea MacLeod, William Mohns, Rod Murray, Marnie and Bill Routledge, Debra Shogan, Julie Stevens, Tosha Tsang, and Cathy van Ingen.

I would particularly like to thank the following people: Michelle Helstein (you tell me how it is, you let me prattle on, and you are a dear friend and motivating study buddy), Judy Davidson (for being around even longer than me, being a great dissertation phone-a-friend, and for letting me buy you coffee, lunch and snacks), Lori Hanson (for being another valuable phone-a-friend and maker of great cookies and desserts…ummmmm quadruple chocolate raspberry cake), Marnie Routledge and Pat the Cat (for opening their home and hearts to me as a study buddy and friend), Audrey Giles (for the chocolate zucchini cake and being study buddy extraordinaire), Kim Bodwell (for knowing how to tune in all those academics she finds herself surrounded by) Sharon Morton (for interesting adventures and golf epics), and Neil Oglestone (for making basketball fun again and being a dear friend).

I also want to thank my pets (Oli, Otter, Scruffy, Chi, Bella, Newt, and the goldfish) and pet friends (Big Buddy, Little Buddy, Elmo, Taz, Kramer, and Mollie) for having made and for making my life a happier place.

Finally, to my mom and to my dad (who passed away during the course of my doctoral studies), I would like to say thank you for everything. You didn't always know what it was that I was doing in the hallowed halls of academia, but you always supported me and encouraged me to get "the damned thing finished". I love you and …here it is, finished!

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Introduction

The town of Stony Plain, Alberta bills itself as "The Town with the Painted Past" because of its "Outdoor Gallery". The rejuvenated streets and buildings of Stony Plain's downtown core serve as an outdoor art gallery for the town's twenty-three heritage themed murals (three additional murals are slated for the summer of 2004) representing elements of the town's past. The representation of past and heritage are significant themes that operate within contemporary Stony Plain's construction of itself as a community and the representation of itself as a good, successful, thriving community to outsiders (hopefully arriving as tourists, new residents and/or businesses). This emphasis on heritage is reflected though a series of venues, events, and practices that helps to produce Stony Plain's identity and construction as a contemporary community. It is the purpose of this dissertation to explore the complex and often contradictory relationships between representation, community, and identity that are negotiated through the production, circulation and consumption of cultural heritage of Stony Plain.

Of methods, turtles and poaching ...

Turtles

> THERE IS A STORY I KNOW. It's about the earth and how it floats in space on the back of a turtle. I've heard this story many times, and each time someone tells the story, it changes. Sometimes the change is simply in the voice of the storyteller. Sometimes the change is in the details. Sometimes in the order of events. Other times it's the dialogue or the response of the audience. But in all the tellings of all the tellers, the world never leaves the turtle's back. And the turtle never swims away.
>
> One time, it was in Prince Rupert I think, a young girl in the audience asked about the turtle and the earth. If the earth was on the back of the turtle, what was below the turtle? Another turtle, the storyteller told her. And below that? Another turtle. And below that? Another turtle.
>
> The girl began to laugh, enjoying the game, I imagine. So how many turtles are there? She wanted to know. The storyteller shrugged. No one knows for sure, he told her, but it's turtles all the way down.

> The truth about stories is that that's all we are. (King, 2003, p. 1-2).

I borrowed Thomas King's (borrowed story) because it, along with Henry Jenkins' (1992) "textual poaching" speaks to the theoretical framework(s) that I use within this dissertation. King's story about the turtle(s) is an important tale about language and how the stories we tell, how we tell them, and the history underlying them construct our social world, shapes our knowledge, and determines our relationships to each other and the earth.

The turtle and the earth are exposed, but beneath the first turtle is the trace(s) of all the stories that have come before, and the traces of those stories prop up the turtle above and/or rest on the back of the turtle below. There are many different/complex/contradictory/intricate/dynamic stories (social theories) and lots of different turtles (foundations/myths) that our world is propped up on and/or rests upon.

The fact that the tower of turtles is infinite shows that we come know the world and our place in it in many different ways. It also means that there are many different stories that can be told and many different relationships that can unfold. I chose, therefore, to work through several different/varied theoretical frameworks in order to get at some of these complexities. I do have some favourites frameworks that I access regularly: cultural studies, new museology, and some poststructuralist theories, but for the most part I read stories/theories, listen for stories and watch out for different stories/theories in action and then I take bits and pieces of what I have learned and spin out a new stories (in hopes [but with no expectations or guarantees] that someone listens and considers my version). In case the process sounds dubious, I do actually look for the stories (theories) that I think can best address questions that I have about the world (or in this instance, Stony Plain's community and heritage tourism infrastructure and the community that makes and is made by it), how we negotiated it, and how we treat each other.

Poaching

I am also indebted to Henry Jenkins' (1992) description of textual poaching (a reading practice that complements the theoretical framework provided through the turtle stories). Textual poaching is an active process of appropriation and production of texts (stories). It is a text reading strategy that emphasises the reader's ability to appropriate textual meaning. Henry Jenkins examines textual poaching through an investigation of television fan culture (but I think it can be applied, in certain ways to scholarly pursuits). Jenkins suggests that fans are not mindlessly devoted to their favourite programmes (texts). Instead of being cultural dupes, TV fans are active producers and manipulators of intricate cultural knowledge that is represented within television texts. The TV fan actively poaches text from television representations to prop up his/her own identity and cultural practices. The poaching of text(s) involves the complex negotiation and mediation of multiple discourses.

The basis of textual poaching is that, once cultural texts are produced and disseminated, their contents can be poached and manipulated in ways that producer(s) may not have intended (Jenkins, 1992). So, for example, the producers of academic texts/theories run the same kinds of risks (e.g. textual appropriation), as do producers of popular texts (e.g. television, museums, heritage sites). Textual poachers struggle with writers (producers of text) for control over text:

> Far from being writers... readers are travellers; they move across lands belonging to someone else, like nomads poaching their way across fields they did not write, despoiling the wealth of Egypt to enjoy themselves (de Certeau in Jenkins, 1992, p. 24).

The poacher is a subject who is discursively produced within multiple cultural discourses (turtles) and is one who can fluidly negotiate a path within and through these multiplicities. The comments of de Certeau suggest that readers move across the landscape of cultural text(s) taking what they want while ignoring or discarding the text(s) that are not valuable/useful to them. For some, this process can be a conscious and critical one, while for others it may not. The reader, consciously or unconsciously, can poach text because the reader is already familiar with cultural value(s) or meaning(s) that may be contained within the text(s). Text is and can be poached because it already has pre-existing foundation/meaning/discursive value for the reader. The reader then, can poach text from a position different from that of the preferred or intended reading. For the poacher, the value of textual poaching lies in the appropriation of text, the incorporation of ever new material, and the establishments of new synthesised meanings (Jenkins, 1992).

Of papers...

Paper One, “Sorry small town tales: Writing/Painting, reading, interrupting community”, is a deconstruction[1] of the terms and texts of ‘community’ as it operates within contemporary Stony Plain's heritage tourism discourses. I was motivated to use deconstruction, when I learned of the story about the conflict between the Town of Stony Plain (the town leaders and the Stony Plain boosters) and Terry Vander Schaaf (advertiser, slogan maker, and Stony Plain booster) over who had legal rights to the use of Stony Plain's/Vander Schaaf's slogan, "The town with the painted past" (David Staples, 1997, B1). I thought (and still do think) it ironic that Vander Schaaf would be shut out of the community that heritage was building in Stony Plain. He fit into so many of the categories of belonging (local business person, Stony Plain booster, and heritage tourism supporter) that Stony Plain's heritage tourism infrastructure is intended to support. This paper addresses how it is that Vander Schaaf does not fit into Stony Plain's (heritage) community infrastructure, what the limits are within (Stony Plain as a contemporary heritage tourism) community, and how the limits of community are regulated and naturalized through the use of dominant/mythic language.

---

[1] I rely on Judith Butler’s explanation of deconstruction: “[T]o deconstruct,” Cornell says “is not to negate or dismiss, but to call into question and perhaps more importantly, to open up a term [or texts]…to a reusage or redeployment that previously has not been authorized” (Butler, 1992, p. 15).

I examine the nature of Stony Plain's community by "interrupting" it (Nancy, 1991). I call into question how categories of inclusion, exclusion, and belonging operate to make, naturalize and maintain dominant definitions and forms of community. In particular, I interrupt the text of the newspaper article, "Wrangle over rights to town slogan ends with festering wound" (David Staples, 1997, B 1) as a way to explore how discourses of community operate to include, limit and regulate community in contemporary Stony Plain. I use different font styles[2] to signify "interruptions". David Staples story, *Wrangle over rights to town*

---

[2] In other words, I interrupt the convention of Times New Roman (size 12) font to signal interruption and redeployment of normalized terms and texts.

slogan ends with festering wound, appears as Arial font. *Text that is written in the font Monotype Corsica signifies when I refer to and "interrupt" David Staples' text.*

My exploration of Staples' text/stories is a purposeful examination of how we construct and negotiated community and communal relationships through mythic language. For example, Nancy (1991) posits that mythic language and representation are creative works that are necessarily implicated in the form and function of community. Mythic language, he suggests, represents a creative force, a "will of community" (p.57) that serves to "found" community. Myth, however, is also conceived as fiction. It is at the point where myth becomes totalising and when it is recognised as fiction that an "interruption" occurs. It is where one recognises the foundation is a fiction, and the fiction is a foundation. Since, community is necessarily implicated in mythic speech, community is also interrupted.

What is important to recognize is that interruption signals limit or otherness in relationship to the conception of a whole (e.g. the conception of community as a whole/universal principal). Interruption does not signal the dissolution of myth or of community; instead, it signals a relationship or an articulation between limits (e.g. the limit of the relationship between community and other). In this sense, "[t]he interrupted community does not flee from itself: but it does not belong to itself, it does not congregate, it communicates itself from one singular place to another" (Nancy, 1991, p. 61).

Everyday talk about community or even our everyday being in community appears seamless even though there are these constant articulations of communal relations. The coziness and comfort associated with 'community' creates a kind of harmony that can render invisible the politics of social relationships, the social limits operating within community, and the representations of those communal relationships. However, if 'we' (I/others) take the time to interrupt the stories of community, we can render problematic the complexity of the plots that shape our lives and that we enact. The dissonance of interruptions potentially provide 'us' (I/we) with an exposure to (a) 'limit(s)' that may open up different social and political possibilities (Agamben, 1998). Playing with the conventions of text is meant to encourage readers to ponder the complexity of meaning-making processes around notions of community.

Although, each paper can stand as an independent text and vary greatly (stylistically and theoretically), I intend the three papers to be read as companion pieces. Paper Two, "Making the tourist community: Ethical incompleteness, governmentality and violence", spun out of what I considered[3] to be the 'violence' associated with community development. The Terry Vander Schaaf/Town of Stony Plain slogan conflict, in conjunction with (what I perceived to be) Stony Plain's 'obsessive' drive to win national championship standing in the *Communities in Bloom*[4] competition, led me to ask/ponder: are community development processes violent and, if they are, how is it that so many people enthusiastically support community development processes and projects?

---

[3] I say, "I consider" because community development is popularly/normally conceived of as good/beneficial and productive processes for communities, and not as violent processes for communities.

[4] *Communities in Bloom* is a nationally recognized community beautification organization that sponsors community beautification through gardening.

I address these questions by examining the link between community development and the making of contemporary Stony Plain's "way of life" (Gossen, 2000, p. 3) through heritage tourism development. I use the work of Toby Miller (1993) and Michel Foucault (1991) to interrogate how violence is mitigated and contemporary Stony Plain's "way of life" fostered through complex interactions of the self as both privately and publicly concerned citizen.

The application of Miller and Foucault's work to Stony Plain's community development projects and processes disrupts/interrupts the assumed naturalness that is often associated to popular conceptions of community and "way[s] of life", by exposing how community as public concern, self-fulfilment within community as private concern, and the collation of public and private concern into "way of life", are often the result of detailed, specific, strategic, and ethically oriented public (and private) interventions. For example, I detail how Stony Plain's privately/publicly concerned citizen is made to identify with and support Stony Plain's heritage tourism project through the "inside-out community[/ecomomic] development" (Day, 1999) process.

Finally, I address the concept of violence by interrogating Stony Plain's involvement with the *Communities in Bloom* program. I suggest that community development processes are not normally associated with violence because the violence and the potential for violence are rationalized through 'community comes first' logic. The onus for social change, communal success, and the burden for (perceived) public failure, as well as responsibilities for private fulfilment and success within community are place upon the individual within discourses of community development. The violence of social processes, therefore, is dismissed as individual failure or ineptitude to achieve (Stony Plain's) particular "way of life".

Finally, Paper Three ("Many faces, whose heart?: Critically touring Stony Plain's heritage representations of First Nation(s) people") also interrogates notions of community, belonging, and violence; however, it does so quite differently than the first two papers. "Many faces, whose heart?," Is intended to be a pedagogic work that encourages readers to think about the context of representations, the social knowledge that heritage representations portray, and the social implications of such representations.

I take readers on a mini mural tour that complicates Stony Plain's multi-cultural themed mural representations of First Nations people and culture. The tour is intended to foreground and disrupt dominant representational and reading practices that have normalized how "Indian"[5] images are read within dominant culture. But more than this, the tour is intended to encourage readers within dominant culture to not only reflect upon their own "Whiteness" and the social privilege that it creates (Maart, 1993), but also to recognize how these kinds of "Indian" constructions depoliticize and marginalize First Nations people within contemporary, dominant Canadian society.

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[5] I use the terms "Indian" and "White" not to show disrespect, but to politicise the terms as constructs that carry social knowledge, political weight and have social effects (King, 2003 and Francis, 2000).

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Paper #1

Sorry small town tales: Writing/Painting, reading, interrupting community

Introduction

> The last act of a *sorry, small-town tale* happened last month [July, 1997]. On behalf of the Stony Plain town council and the chamber of commerce, *artist Windi Scott travelled to the outskirts of town and painted over the slogan on the town sign* (Figure 2-1). *No longer* will Stony Plain be known as the *"Town with the Painted Past."* For the time being, the town will *have no slogan* at all. The slogan had to go because of a *squabble* between *town leaders* and *Terry Vander Schaaf,* who came up with the slogan six years ago and wanted to be *paid for its use*' (Staples, 1997, p. B1,emphasis added[1]).

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[1] I have chosen different text to signify "interruptions". David Staples story, *Wrangle over rights to town slogan ends with festering wound*, appears as Arial font. *Text that is written in the font Monotype Corsica will signify interruptions within David Staples text and when I refer to Staples' interuptions. The font change indicates what Jean Luc Nancy (1991) would call an interruption.* Nancy posits that mythic language and representation are creative works that are necessarily implicated in community. Mythic language, he suggests, represents a creative force, a "will of community" (p.57) that serves to "found" community. Myth, however, is also conceived as fiction. It is at the point where myth becomes totalizing and when it is recognised as fiction that an "interruption" occurs. It is where one recognises the foundation is a fiction, and the fiction is a foundation. Since, community is necessarily implicated in mythic speech, community is also interrupted. What is important to note is that interruption signals limit or otherness in relationship to the conception of a whole (e.g. the conception of community as a whole/universal principal). Interruption does not signal the dissolution of myth or of community; instead, it signals a relationship or an articulation between limits (e.g. the limit of the relationship between community and other). In this sense, "[t]he interrupted community does not flee from itself: but it does not belong to itself, it does not congregate, it communicates itself from one singular place to another" (p. 61). For a more nuanced discussion of the interplay between myth, interruption and community, see Nancy's chapter *Myth Interrupted.*

I pondered using bold font to signal interruptions of Staples' text. However, bold text is usually read as emphasis. The interruptions are intended to signal limit, otherness, or unbelonging. My first instinct was to not explain the interruptions (font change, spacing, footnoting and so forth) that are a significant part of the style and content of my writing about the interrogation of community. However, because this work is situated within academic convention, I thought I had better explain that which might be perceived as 'messy', 'irrational' or perhaps just 'bad' writing. There is a purpose to writing in this style, particularly for writing about the theme of 'community', especially the community produced and represented through community development discourses, and how I want to interrogate the theme. Peter Brooks in *Reading for the Plot* wrote,

"Plot in fiction helps us overcome the anxiety caused by the loss of the 'sacred masterplot' that organizes and explains the world. Our lives are ceaselessly intertwined with narrative, with the stories that we tell or hear told, those that we dream or imagine or would like to tell, all of which are reworked in that story of our own lives that we narrate to ourselves in episodic, somewhat semi-conscious, but virtually uninterrupted monologue. We live immersed in narrative…" (Kittredge, 1991, p. 41).

Everyday talk about community or even our everyday being in community seems to flow through similar type(s) of uninterrupted streams. The coziness and comfort associated with 'community' creates a kind of harmony that can render invisible the politics of social relationships, the social

The story of how Stony Plain, Alberta got its slogan, *The town with painted past*, then 'lost' it, and then regained it is a significant and productive story for complicating popular invocations of 'community,' especially from within contemporary discourses of heritage-based community development. David Staples, a columnist for the *Edmonton Journal*, wrote a rendition of Stony Plain's slogan story, titled *Wrangle over rights to town slogan ends with festering wound* that appeared in August of 1997. Staples' story is perhaps meant to be read as nothing more than the story of a petty *squabble* over who owns the rights to the town's tourist slogan. In many ways, the disagreement is represented as a petty *squabble* because it seems silly for the 'good' people of Stony Plain to jeopardise the apparent harmony of their community. The inability of the people of Stony Plain to resolve the slogan conflict amicably infects the community with distrust and *bad blood*, and leaves an unavoidable *festering wound*. Stony Plain, it seems, should be a healthy community steeped in friendliness, partnership and unity. Community, in this account, should be the pervasive mode of being, not only for Stony Plain but also for all small, rural towns. The friendly, co-operative, loyal, and selfless inhabitants should dwell contentedly and cohesively within the safe and secure boundaries of their simple, charming community.

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limits operating within community, and the representations of those communal relationships. However, if 'we' (I/others) take the time to interrupt the stories of community, we can render problematic the complexity of the plots that shape our lives and that we enact. The dissonance of interruptions potentially provide 'us' (I/we) with an exposure to (a) 'limit(s)' that may open up different social and political possibilities (Agamben, 1998). Playing with the conventions of text is meant to encourage readers to ponder the complexity of meaning-making processes around notions of community.

This particular characterization of community is especially important for heritage sites/sights like Stony Plain, because the idealized community is often a central theme developed within the image making process and organizational principles of heritage-based community development (Alberta Government, 1987; Heatherington, 1996; Hewison, 1987; MacCannell, 1992; Urry, 1990, 1994, 1996). However, the slogan story's status as petty *squabble* does two interesting and perhaps incongruous things. It signals that 'we' often have a tremendous desire for communal splendour while simultaneously silencing much of the violence that regulates the desired or appropriate communal form.

Staples' slogan story, then, can serve as more than a simple presentation of *the last act of a sorry small town tale*. Indeed, the resonance of Staples' comment indicates that community is often violated, and the plots for *sorry, small* [large, provincial, national, international] *town* [group, city, province, nation, inter-nation] *tales* are more prevalent than people would like to have, recognise or believe. The problem is that many of the conditions that create the plots for sorry tales are an integral part of our "being in common" or "being in community" (Nancy, 1991). However, these challenges, disagreements and differences that emerge become disassociated from the questions of how people produce, talk about, act within, police, and resist being in community.

In this paper, David Staples' (1997) article, "Wrangle over rights to town slogan ends with festering wound", Jean-Luc Nancy's (1991) *The Inoperative Community* and Roland Barthes' (1972) *Mythologies* act as touchstones for complicating representations of community as staged within and produced out of Stony Plain's sorry small town tale(s). The workings of community are important because there are real, that is social, political and material stakes (Foucault, 1980), for people trying to work at and relate within/through discourses of community. For people, like Vander Schaaf, Staples, Windi Scott, the Mayor, and members of the Chamber of Commerce (and other people, perhaps like us), being-in-common (community) is about important things like safety, belonging, security, and interdependence; but it is also about freedom, violence, difference, social power, change and possibility. This paper is divided into four sections. The first section introduces the concepts of storytelling and the storyteller (Nancy, 1991) as a way of complicating ideas about who can be legitimate speakers of, for and about 'community'. The second section interrogates the concept of 'myth' (Barthes, 1972) and how myth operates within the conceptualization and politicization of contemporary notions of 'community'. The third section returns to the concept of the storyteller (Nancy, 1991) as it pertains to Stony Plain and Stony Plain's *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters*. The final section, ***In the End...*** tells the stories associated with Stony Plain re-acquiring the rights to the slogan, *The town with the painted past*.

Figure 2-1. Welcome to Stony Plain Sign. Located on Highway 16A (west bound)

Myth and representation: The idealization of community

> "This [the slogan conflict] is *not really a story that we like to have in our community*," said Mayor Donna Cowan. "*Generally speaking, the people in this community all work together and are very, very proud of what we have.* This is a very *unfortunate situation* and has a very *unfortunate outcome. Everyone* really liked the slogan. We thought it was an excellent name, *very catchy* and *certainly described what we have here*". The slogan was good. The Town with the Painted Past referred to both the town's history and to the 15 murals that have gone up around town celebrating that history. *Stony Plain boosters* are rightly proud of the murals. They've helped *turn another nondescript Alberta town into something special.* And when Mayor Cowan greeted guests to town she would always say, "*Welcome to Stony Plain, The Town with the Painted Past.*" (Staples, 1997, p. B1, emphasis added).

Mythic stories and the foundation of community

The statement, "*This is not really a story that we like to have in our community*," betrays Mayor Cowan's concern for the rupture the slogan conflict might have both 'inside' of the community and 'outside' of the community. A rupture inside the community might make it harder to get and sustain resources and public support for things like heritage infrastructure and community development initiatives, or cause hard feeling or conflict between local people. Stony Plain also has much invested in maintaining to those on the outside the image of itself as a close-knit, harmonious place, steeped in a heritage of hard work, cooperation and prosperity. A breakdown in community may scare away tourists, new residents, important business investors, or scarce Provincial or Federal government favour. In large part, Mayor Cowan's concern is about the integrity of a very carefully written community/place myth upon which Stony Plain relies both for an internal representation of self and public presentation of community as a unified and cohesive social order. In this sense then, Nancy's (1991) notions that mythic representation plays a central role in the staging and founding of the community and that myth acts as a grand narrative or unifying bond, resonates in an attempt to understand Mayor Cowan's anxiousness about the kinds of stories that *we would like to have in our community.*

Storytelling: Writing "our" community

Nancy (1991) suggests that "myth" plays a central role founding communal identity through its role as representation at work. Nancy argues that myth "arises only from the community and for it… [M]yth is the unique speech of the many, who come thereby to recognize one another, who communicate and commune in myth… Myth communicates the common, the being common of what it reveals or what it recites" (p. 50). Mythic representation is particularly powerful because it secures the 'common' in a timeless origin or essence. The community becomes reflected as something that has always been (a coherent whole), and 'we' recognize 'ourselves' in it. Nancy's introduction to his chapter, *Myth Interrupted*, reflects the importance of mythic signification (storytelling) as a foundational practice.

Nancy (1991) tells the tale of the tribal storyteller who gives the story of 'origins' to the people. The story goes something like this: The people were dispersed all across the land before the arrival of the storyteller. With the arrival of the storyteller, however the people gathered and listened to the story. It was "the gift, the right, or the duty" of the storyteller to gather the people and share their story. The story the people heard was a powerful one about "their origin, of where they [had] come from, or of how they [had] come from the Origin itself" (p. 43). The story was the beginning for the people. It was the beginning of the narrative (the story) itself, but it was also the beginning of the people gathering in/as community.

The storyteller told the story many times and in many ways. Sometimes, the storyteller was "his own hero, and they [the listeners] by turns, [were] the heroes of the tale and the ones who [had] the right to hear it and the duty to learn it" (Nancy, 1991, p. 44). It was in the speech of the storyteller, that "their language for the first time serve[d] no other purpose than that of presenting the narrative and keeping it going." Language is the story's powerful tool, for "it [was] no longer [merely] the language of their exchanges, but of their reunion -the sacred language of a foundation and an oath, [that] the teller share[d]… with and among them" (p.44). The story was important to the people, and it did not end with just one telling. Instead, it was constantly repeated. The story always made sense, even though at times it may have seemed confused, incoherent, savage, or even amusing. The people understood the story. They understood "everything, in the listening and they under[stood] themselves and the world, and they under[stood] why it was necessary for them to come together, and why it was necessary that this be recounted to them" (p. 44).

'Accurate' accounts: What has 'really' happened in Stony Plain

Nancy's story of the tribal gathering and storytelling may seem to be a strange place to start discussion about the 'writing' ('painting') of community within Stony Plain's heritage infrastructure. The enlightenment dream of a highly rationalized world that can be known objectively, represented accurately, and reflective of the truth[2] resonates within the meaning making processes of complex, technocratic and rationalized Western societies. In fact, one can trace Stony Plain's transformation from agricultural service centre to heritage site/tourist destination in a methodical and rationalized way. For example, Stony Plain's heritage infrastructure was motivated by several threats that have been linked to the effects of globalization. In the early 1980s, Stony Plain's identity as a rural farming community was threatened by urban and suburban sprawl. Many long time residents were leaving Stony Plain for economic and social opportunities elsewhere. Agriculture as the primary sector of the local economy and social structure was losing ground to an economy based in the service sector and resource extraction. Family farms were being lost to industrialization, industrial scale agriculture and acreage development. The population of the town was growing; however, this new population's ties to a sense of community seemed weak because the newcomers were increasingly transient or had significant ties to other locales.

The most obvious and distressing sign that things were changing was the perceived death of Main Street Stony Plain. Main Street, once the busy economic and social hub of the region, was losing ground to highway-based commercial development and malls. The death of Main Street reflected the decay of a unique community and the loss of values and beliefs reflective of rural life.[3] In 1986, the

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[2] Ironically, the idea that one can rationally represent the 'truth' is a powerful contemporary myth in its own right.

[3] I discuss the significance of the myth of Main Street in a later section.

Municipality (the Town of Stony Plain) countered the deleterious effects of these social and economic changes by levying a Business Revitalization Zone tax from businesses in the downtown core. Monies raised through the Business Revitalization Zone tax were used to improve the downtown core's infrastructure. Sidewalks were upgraded with interlocking red brick. Old fashion replica lampposts and cast iron benches were installed on the downtown streets to increase the downtown's curb appeal. The downtown core was also beautified through the addition of hanging flower baskets and a Japanese Garden Park. Businesses were encouraged to participate in the revitalization program by repairing or replacing their building façades with a style reflective of 1920s prairie architectural motifs[4] (Figures 2-2 and 2-3) and through the purchase of container planters that would sit on the sidewalks in front of their businesses.

In 1988, Stony Plain took advantage of an Alberta Government initiative called the Community Tourism Action Plan. Under the Community Tourism Action Plan, the Town of Stony Plain and a local Museum, the Multicultural Heritage Centre, received funding to develop a heritage-themed mural program that celebrated the people and events of Stony Plain's past. The mural program currently operates through limited government grants, corporate sponsorship and/or private funding. The murals continue to be a successful public art program that complements the town's Main Street revitalization.

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[4] This architectural motif in Western Canada is often associate with a Victorian style since large-scale European settlement occurred relatively late in this part of North America. See Francaviglia's (1977) discussion of Victorian motifs within Disney's construction of Main Street U.S.A.

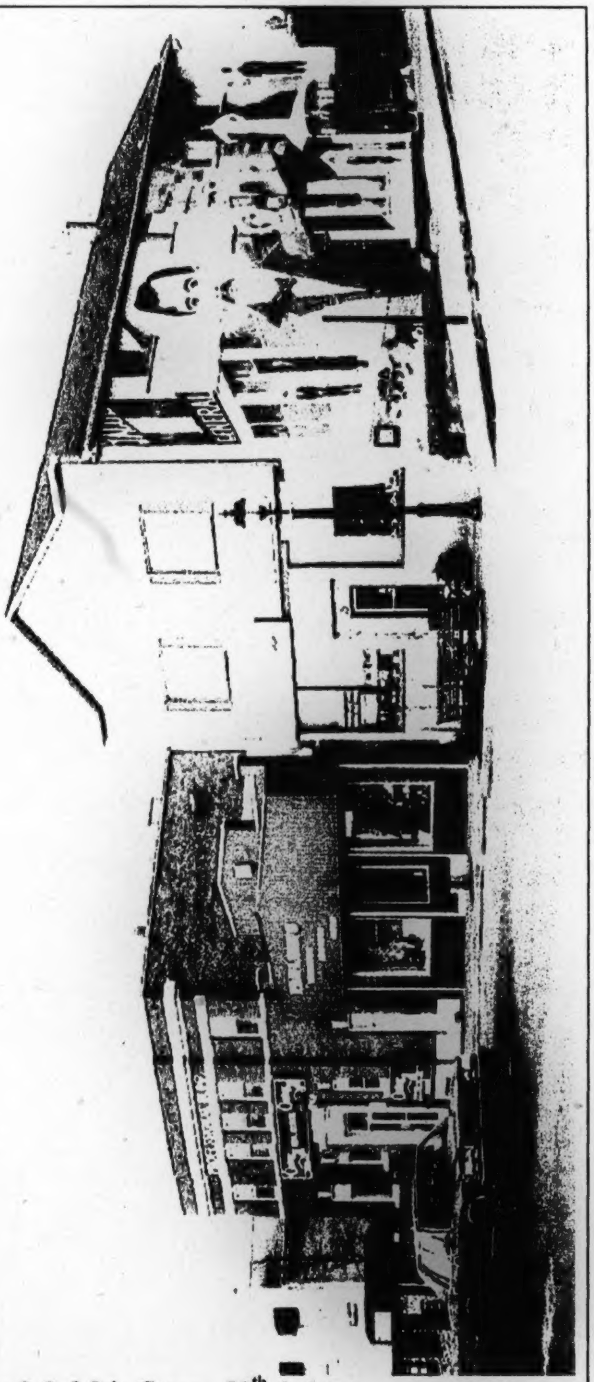

Figure 2-2. Main Street. 50th Avenue

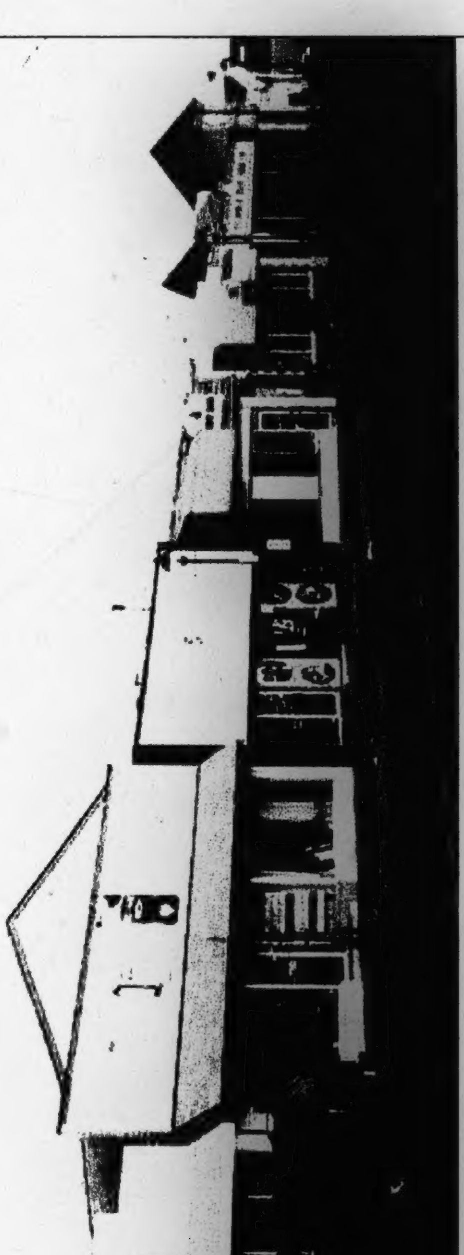

Figure 2-3. Main Street. Direction. 51st Avenue

Storytelling: Writing Stony Plain

Nancy's story of the storyteller and the founding of the tribal community appears 'out of place' when compared to the preceding 'factual' account of Stony Plain's turn to heritage-based tourism. The factual account is not necessarily enticing to tourists or inspiring of loyalty within the local people. However, Nancy's story (as I soon reveal) can serve as a significant reminder that contemporary people are still heavily invested in complex (mythic and ideological) narrative structures and representational practices that help 'us' to shape (write/paint) and make sense of (read) 'our' world(s)/reality(ies) (Hall, 1997). The use of mythic narratives is especially important because myth is pervasive in everyday life; myth acts as a powerful and motivated signifying practice (Barthes, 1972). Tourism destinations, in particular are well versed in mythic storytelling processes that create or "mark out" places in very particular ways for both local people and the touring public (MacCannell, 1992). As MacCannell suggests, "[T]ourism is not just the aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs" (p. 1).

The key myth in operation and under contestation within Stony Plain's slogan story is the grand myth of Stony Plain as the 'ideal community', and this is the story that Mayor Cowan would *like to have in [and about] our community*. The myth of the ideal community is inscribed everywhere in representations of Stony Plain. The myth of ideal community establishes (founds) very particular values, beliefs, behaviours and infrastructures that set the limits for appropriateness and belonging within the *what we have here* of Stony Plain. Indeed, Mayor Cowan has become one of the most gifted storytellers[5] about Stony Plain as ideal community. Cowan's *Letter from the Mayor* (Cowan, 1997), which appeared in a Stony Plain and District Chamber of Commerce tourist brochure, is a particularly poignant foundational narrative (see next page). However, much of the content of the story was pre-told, or has been told and re-told through a variety of tourist literature, mural, Main Street, website and/or television representations. The story of ideal community has also come to play a central role in the everyday language of local people and visitors.[6]

Mayor Cowan's story is representation at work. It is through the (constant) telling of this heroic tale (and others like it) that Stony Plain is founded as the "best place to live in Alberta":

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[5] Remember Nancy (1991), who tells the tale of the "storyteller"(the person who has the right, duty or privilege to tell the myth (story) of origins/foundations.
[6] See: "Action Plan Provides" (1988); "Businesses told" (1988); "Painting the Old Town's History" (1990); Town of Stony Plain, 2003; B. Williamson, (2000); www.stonyplain.net

Welcome to Stony Plain [*The Town with the Painted Past*],

On behalf of the residents of Stony Plain, we welcome you. The Town of Stony Plain, home to 16 vibrant, life size murals[7] painted by Alberta artists,[8] is anxious to have you visit, or make as your new home, our friendly and charming community.

Residents of Stony Plain enjoy a superior lifestyle –a fully equipped hospital (an $18 million community heath centre is scheduled for opening in the Summer of 2000), a volunteer fire department, ambulance service; RCMP and a complement of Provincial Government, County and Municipal services; modern recreational facilities serving a multitude of sports and community groups; a championship 18 hole golf course; an extensive trail system for biking and walking; many arts and cultural amenities; three school boards –public, separate and Lutheran as well as NAIT Westerra Institute of Technology[9] for adult education; a bustling downtown core; and 8,274 residents[10] who are committed to making Stony Plain the best place to live in Alberta.

Located just 20 minutes west of Edmonton's boundary, Stony Plain is serviced by two major highways (16 and 16A), and offers all the small-town hospitality and charm of life as it was years ago. Stroll down Main Street adorned with old-fashioned lampposts, benches, and many unique shops to welcome and entice you. Spend the day visiting the internationally famous Multicultural Heritage Centre (120,000 visitors from all over the world did that last year) –home of the Homesteader's Kitchen restaurant, craft store, and Log cabin; visit the Generations Gallery[11] – Alberta's First Rural gallery; sample wine and tour Wolf Winery[12]; step back in time or take in a "threshing bee" at the Pioneer Museum; or enjoy afternoon tea or lunch at the Country Lace Cottage Tea House, and visit some of our "beary" nice characters at Bears and Bedtimes. There's so much to do you'll have to move to Stony Plain to get it all done!

Residents of Stony Plain are extremely proud of their community and delight in showing visitors and new residents alike just why they feel so strongly about living in a town where **people make the difference**.

We welcome you to come to Stony Plain and get to know us –we're sure you'll like what you find so much you won't want to leave.

Sincerely, Donna Cowan, Mayor of Stony Plain, 1997 (emphasis in original)

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[7] When this message was written and published in 1997 on the Town of Stony Plain's website (www.stonyplain.com) and in a Chamber of Commerce promotional booklet there were 16 murals. Stony Plain currently (May, 2003) has 23 pieces of public art its outdoor gallery, although two of the murals are slated for destruction with the building of the new town hall. The Stony Plain Mural committee continues to seek funding, artists and patrons to add to Stony Plain's outdoor gallery.

[8] Since funding sources have changed, artists are commissioned from outside Alberta, as well.

[9] Northern Alberta Institute of Technology, Westerra was established as an act of political patronage, but it failed to establish itself as an educational institution and closed down. The buildings were targeted (once again as an act of political patronage) as the potential new home for

Mayor Cowan's story is myth as representation at work. The myth produces itself as an effect by being a fiction that founds the community as an immanent or totalized form. The myth of ideal community fashions the world for the subject (who and what the good people of Stony Plain are, how they behave and how they live in common) (Nancy, 1991). The 'truth' of Stony Plain's ideal community myth is based in desire to make/write and know/read the town in its totality, as a coherent, stable and desirable community. The representation of Stony Plain as ideal community operates as kind of "absolute myth" that reflects an urge to communal will:

> Absolute myth is not so much the total fusion of individuals, but the will of the community; the desire to operate, through the power of myth, the communion that myth represents and the myth it represents as communion or communication of wills (Nancy, 1991, p. 57).

Mayor Cowan's letter is steeped in mythic representation that is meant to be read as a reflective representation of Stony Plain's community. The letter is meant to function like a mirror, and reflect the true nature (Hall, 1997) of Stony Plain in all of its glory. The letter is "simply reflecting or imitating the truth that is already there and fixed in the world" (p. 24). For example, one need only read the list of

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the Provincial Archive. A passionate outcry from people in the Edmonton halted relocation. The Westerra buildings are used by Alberta Environment.

[10] Stony Plain's population is projected to exceed 10 000 people in 2003. Stony Plain will be eligible for city status once its population exceeds 10 000 people. The potential for city status poses complications and angst for Stony Plain's representation of itself as a "small town".

[11] Generations Gallery has changed its name to the Multicultural Centre Public Art Gallery. The name, Generations Gallery, although it alluded to the notion of art and culture rooted in heritage, was perceived as a marketing liability for the gallery. Its new name affiliates the gallery to both its location in the Multicultural Heritage Centre building and with the popularity the Multicultural Heritage Centre as a significant local tourist attraction and restaurant. The name change reflects contemporary marketing strategies associated with brand affiliation.

[12] Andrew Wolf Wineries is now defunct. An Evangelical church, after winning a protracted municipal zoning fight, now holds services in the former winery.

amenities, successful businesses and cultural institutions, to know that Stony Plain is and has always been a successful, progressive and vibrant community. One need only read the letter to know that this kind of communal success (individual, family, economic, social) is achieved through a long tradition of people who work together, get along and value the same kinds of beliefs and things. Stony Plain is the safe, secure place where the *we* can thrive. Indeed, it is the security offered by the 'sameness' or 'common-ness' that binds the people together in community. Mayor Cowan's representation of Stony Plain is a popular and effective representation of community because it appeals to what we already seem to know to be the essence of 'real' community:

> …a 'warm' place, a cosy and comfortable place. It is like a roof under which we shelter in heavy rain, like a fireplace at which we warm our hands on a frosty day… In here, in the community, we can relax -we are safe, there are no dangers looming in dark corners (to be sure, hardly any 'corner' here is 'dark'). In a community, we all understand each other well, we may trust what we hear, we are safe … (Bauman, 2001, p. 1-2).

Storytelling: "Painting" Stony Plain

The slogan [is] good. The Town with the Painted Past [refers] to both the *town's history and to the [22] murals that have gone up around town celebrating* that history. The slogan and the content of the Mural Program reiterate Mayor Cowan's story of Stony Plain as the ideal community because they are "authentic depiction[s] of events and persons…who have contributed to Stony Plain" (Town of Stony Plain, 2001, p. 6). The murals represent the stories of "real events" that and "real people" (p. 6) who have made Stony Plain a thriving and successful community. Several mural representations can serve as examples of murals as reiterations of the Stony Plain as the ideal community myth: the mural, *The Lady with the Hats* (Figure 2-4), depicts Corneila Railey Wood, "one of the leading pioneer ladies of Stony Plain" (Heart of Town Association[13], c. 1992). Wood was an active politician who at various times served as the Chairperson of the Consolidated School District, Stony Plain's mayor, and as Stony Plain's Member of the Legislative Assembly. Wood was recognized in 1981 with the Person's Award from the Governor General of Canada for her efforts in improving the status of women in Canada (Heart of Town Association, c. 1992). The mural of Wood is an important Stony Plain story for she is one of the heroes whose hard work and desires for a more equitable society helped to found both the town and the province.

The Gatherings (Figure 2-5) represents church and school social events. During these important functions, the community gathered to "share music, dance, and food with good friends and neighbours" (Heart of Town Association, c. 1992). The rural agrarian life, while bountiful and rewarding was full of hard work and challenges. One of the most significant challenges that confronted hardy farm families was the geographical isolation associated with farming. Social gatherings were an important aspect of community building during the settlement of the Stony Plain area. The mosaic, *Harnessing Our Past* (Figure 2-6), shows a mule hitch breaking new ground and reflects the important role that the farming community had in the development and prosperity of the Stony Plain region. The murals reflect the solid foundation upon which built contemporary Stony Plain.

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[13] The Heart of Town association formed with the implementation of the Business Revitalization Zone Tax. Businesses in the zone automatically became members of Heart of Town Association, contributed a one hundred dollar per year membership fee and paid a revitalization tax to the Town that went directly toward projects in the zone. The Heart of Town Association (as of Spring 2003) is actively trying to dissolve its association because of lack of support from many of its

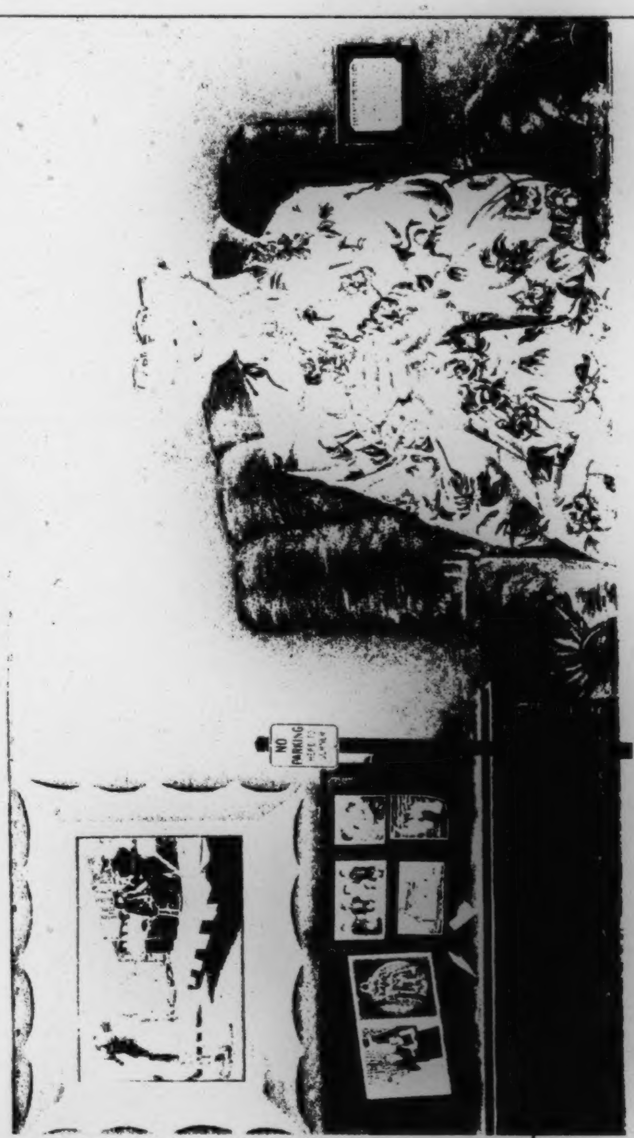

Figure 2-4. *The lady with the hats.* (Corner of 52nd Ave and Main Street)

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members. In lieu of Heart of Town membership, downtown businesses want special consideration within the Stony Plain and District Chamber of Commerce (Mah, Jan. 17, 2003).

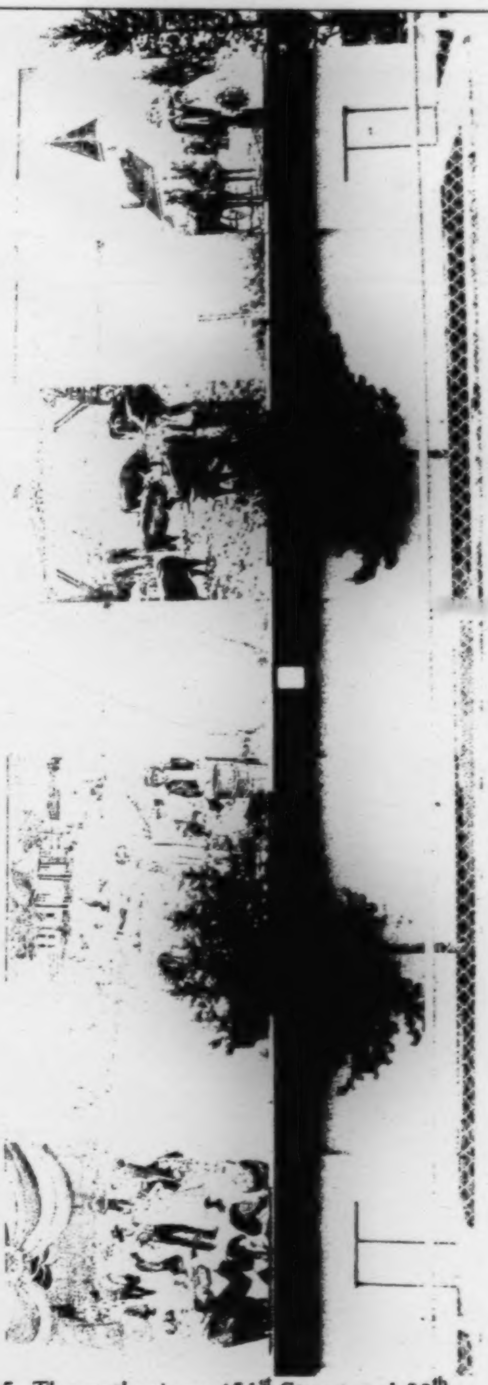

Figure 2-5. *The gatherings*. (51st Street and 50th Avenue)

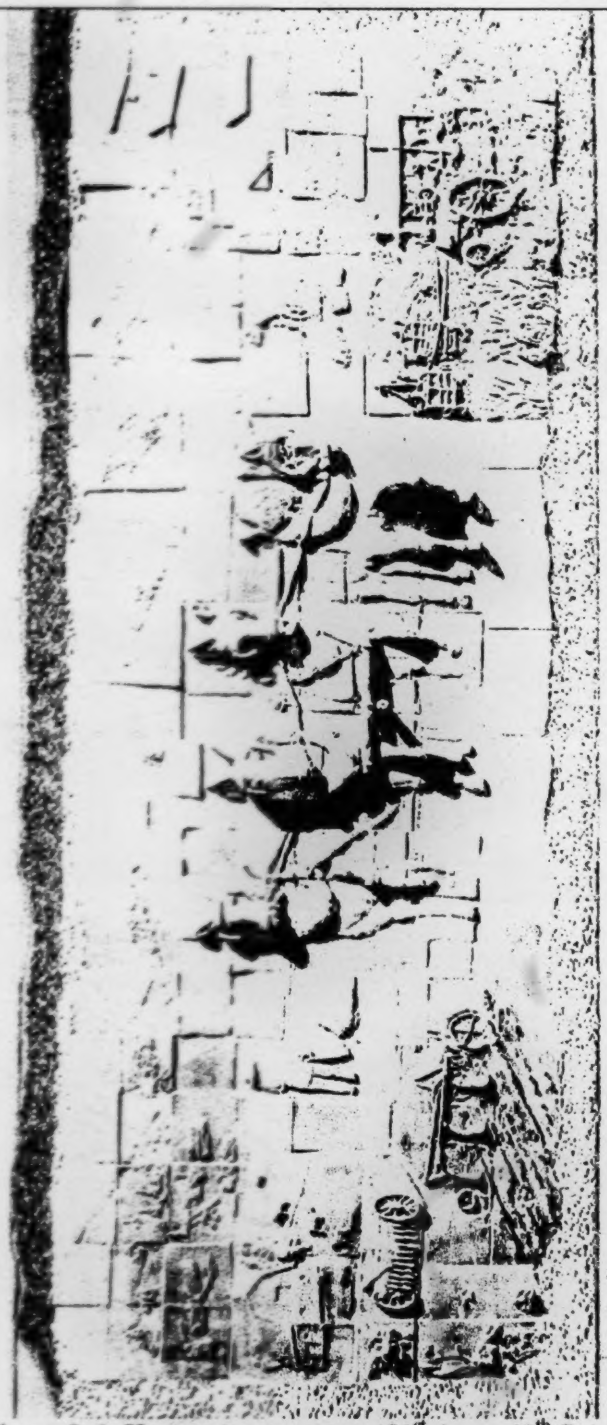

Figure 2-6. *Harnessing our past*. (51st Ave.- 49th St.)

Storytelling: "Visualiz/e(ing)" Stony Plain

Main Street and the downtown core of Stony Plain tell the visual story of Stony Plain as a successful, ideal community. The streets, lined with beautiful Victorian period lampposts, are clean, bright and safe. During the summer months, colourful hanging plant baskets adorn the lampposts (Figure 2-7). During the winter months, colourful wreathes sit atop the lampposts, festive lighting frames each mural[14] and a 50-foot Christmas tree adorns the intersection of 51st Avenue and Main Street (Figure 2-8). There are ornate benches where people sit and look at the tree-lined boulevards, murals and historic buildings, or simply sit and visit with friends and neighbours. The streets bustle with people who visit the many banks, restaurants and small shops. One need only look at the beauty and vitality of Stony Plain's downtown core to recognize that the *people are very, very proud of* their *community* and have *all work[ed] together* to turn this *Alberta town into something special.*

It is difficult to understand, given these representations of Stony Plain as a friendly, cooperative, successful and safe community, why the slogan conflict (*unfortunate situation*) would not have been resolved amicably (*unfortunate outcome*), or perhaps why it would even have occurred at all given that everyone works together and values the same things. What emerges with the slogan conflict, however, is the problem that ‘difference’ creates for representational practices predicated upon the notion of community, represented as a harmonious, unified and coherent whole. The mythic representations of Stony Plain reflect what Benedict Anderson (1983) called an “imagined community”. Anderson stated that “regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that might prevail in it, the [community] is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (p. 16). It is not that the imagined community represented within these Stony Plain stories are untrue. Instead, it is that these types of representations limit what counts as truth by circumscribing the way that community is to be read/understood within the mythic stories.

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[14] The lighting that frames each mural is part of a fund-raising endeavor for palliative care within the Stony Plain region. Businesses and individuals sponsor the lights surrounding each mural. Money raised through the lighting project is then given to palliative care organizations. I note this because community service and voluntary dispersal of money, work or time is an important aspect within the making of Prairie communities. I speak to this in more detail in a later section.

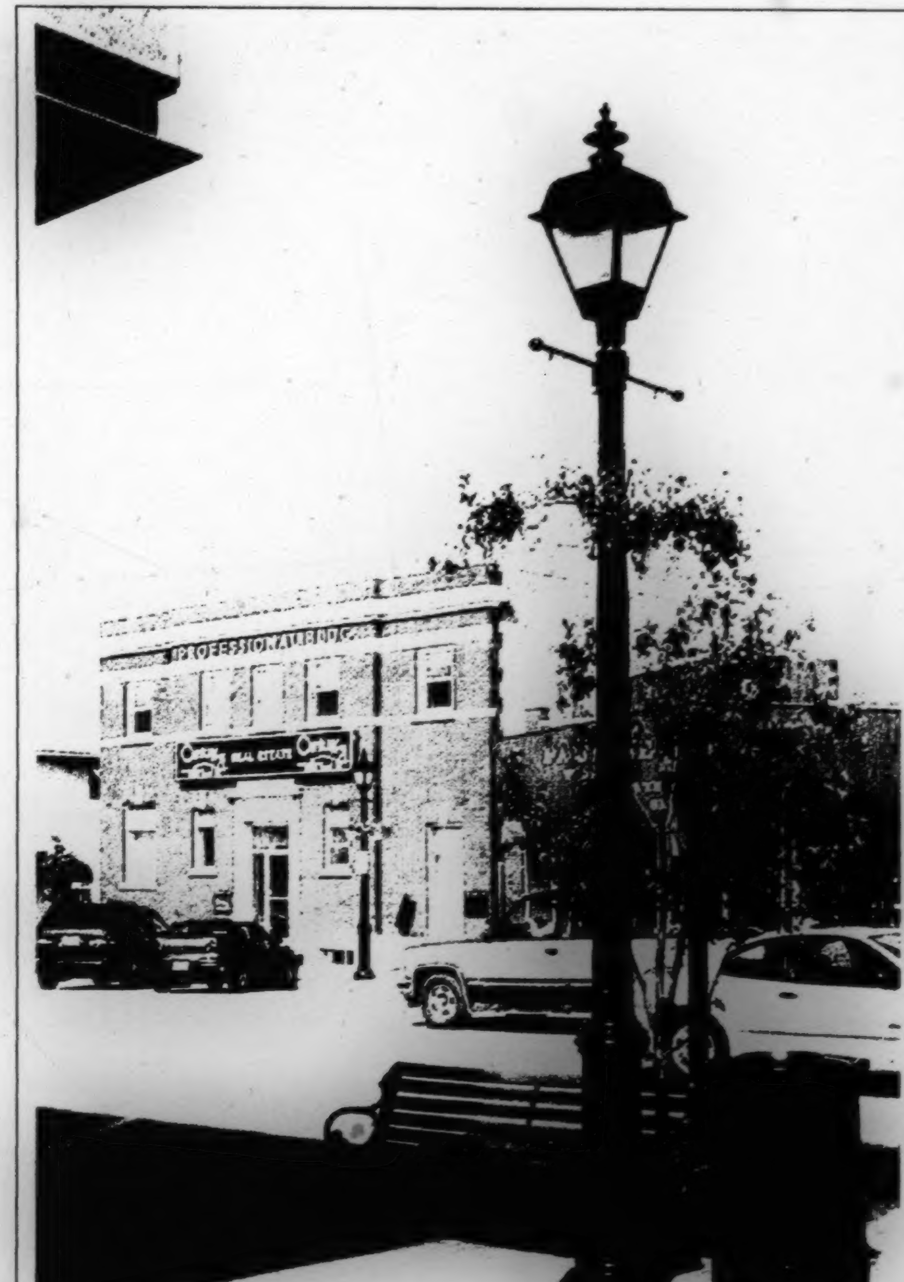

Figure 2-7. Replica Victorian lamppost and bench. (Main Street)

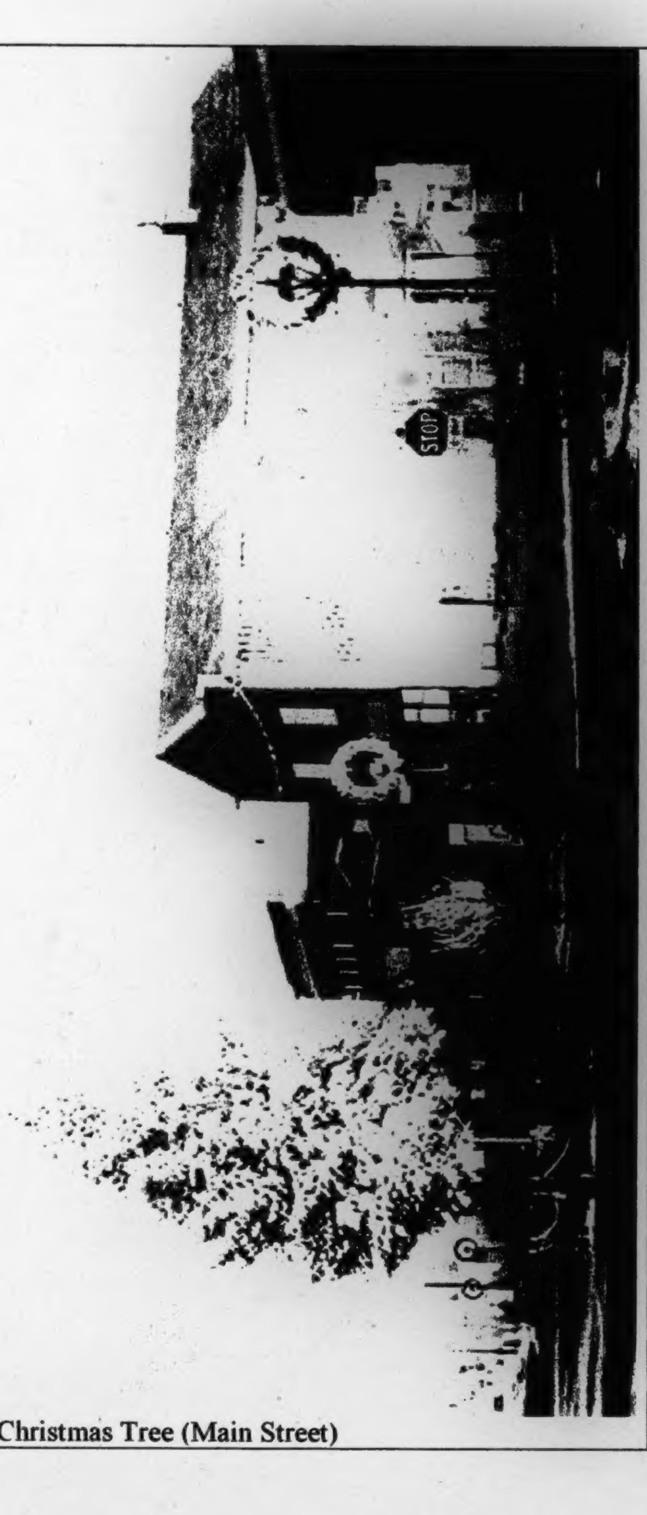

Figure 2-8. Fifty-foot Christmas Tree (Main Street)

The Power of Myth

> And when Mayor Cowan greeted guests to town she would always say, "Welcome to Stony Plain, The Town with the Painted Past." *But no more.*[15] The dispute goes back to 1992 (Staples, 1997, p. B1, emphasis added).

The problem that absolute community encounters is interruption. The point of interruption is when "[t]he tradition is suspended at the very moment it fulfills itself" (Nancy, 1991, p. 52). It is when one knows that the story is a myth. It is when one knows that the foundation is fiction. The myth of a total, coherent community necessarily fails (Butler, 1990) when it is exposed to its limit (Nancy, 1991). The limit to community, in this case, is Terry Vander Schaaf and his desire of compensation for creating the town's slogan. One might suggest with the interruption/exposure of difference that the "myth of community" would lose some of its potency as a foundational narrative. In the next section, I rely on the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, Roland Barthes and Nancy, to suggest that mythic signifying practices involving community lose very little of their potency as a foundational narrative, even when (or perhaps particularly when) the myth of community is interrupted.

Saussure: Language and meaning

At this point, a discussion of Barthes' (1972) notion of myth as a signifying practice is particularly useful for both setting up and understanding the power of the myth of community within Stony Plain's representational practices and the interruption of community with the slogan conflict. Barthes was indebted to the work of linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure. Saussure's accomplishment was in showing how representation through language was a social phenomenon (Hall, 1997). Saussure posited that language was a system of signs. Anything (sounds, images, written words, photographs, and so forth) can function as a sign as long as it serves to communicate ideas. However, in order to communicate ideas, these signs had to be part of a system of conventions (Culler in Hall, 1997). Saussure analysed the sign into two elements: the signifier and the signified. The signifier was the form (the actual word, painting, or photo) whilst the signified was the idea/concept with which the form was associated. For example, when one hears, sees or reads the signifier 'mule' (Figure 2-6 of mule in *Harnessing the Past)*, it correlates to the signified (the idea of a large, four legged animal). Both the signifier and the signified are required to create meaning, but (according to Saussure), the relationship between them is not natural or inevitable, but instead fixed through cultural and linguistic codes that are specific to each society and historical era. Meaning is shared because of cultural convention and not because of a natural relationship between the signifier and signified.

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[15] As of August 2002, the Town of Stony Plain gain "unencumbered" use of the slogan "The Town with the Painted Past". I discuss this later.

Stuart Hall (1997) contends that Saussure's work has far reaching implications for a theory of representation and understanding culture. Since meaning is a social phenomenon produced within specific historical and cultural moments, meaning can never be fixed: "[t]here is no single, unchanging, universal 'true meaning.'" This contingency of meaning within signifying practices "opens up meaning and representation, in a radical way, to history and change" by "breaking any natural and inevitable ties between the signifier and the signified"

(Hall, 1997, p. 32). The breaking of natural and inevitable ties is a significant concept within the interrogation of community for two reasons. First, as Hall suggests, the breaking of natural and inevitable ties means that interpretation, or reading of signs is an important and active, although potentially imprecise process. Since imprecision in language exists, it is very important within representation of community that the relationship between signifiers and the signified 'community' is one that is shared between both the writers and readers. In this sense, as long as community is written and read in the same way, there is potential for belief in the existence of/or meaning associated with communal harmony and a unified social order.

Second, since imprecision in language does exist, it becomes more difficult for writers and readers of representations to share precisely the same meaning and ascribe precisely the same value to representations of community. The potential open-ended relationship between the signified and the signifier within meaning making processes comes to pose a complex challenge for myth as a signifying practice. Although imprecision of meaning in language exists, mythic representations of cohesive, harmonious community still have a powerful hold within the popular/normative imagination. Barthes (1972) theory of myth as a signifying practice offers some insights into how difference can be reconciled, sublimated and depoliticised through mythic representation.

Barthes: Myth as signifying practice

Barthes, like Saussure, thought, "since all cultural objects convey meaning, and all cultural practices depend on meaning, they must make use of signs; and in so far as they do, they must work like language works, and be amenable to an analysis which basically makes use of Saussure's linguistic concepts" (Hall, 1997, p. 36). However, unlike Saussure, Barthes theorized about two separate but associated orders of signification. The second level of signification was associated with more "global" or a "greater system" of signs (Barthes, 1972, p. 114-115). The second order of signification was "myth" (Barthes, 1972). In the first order of signification, described above, the signifier (form: word, picture, image) and the signified (concept /idea with which the form was associated) combined to create the sign (the completed meaning or message). Within the second order of signification, however the "sign (namely the associative total of a concept and an image) in the first system, becomes a mere signifier in the second" (Barthes, 1972, p. 114). The sign of the first semiological system becomes a signifier within myth. That is, it becomes a signifier (especially when linked to a series of similar signifiers) of broader or more global ideological themes. I return to my example of 'mule'. In the mural, *Harnessing the Past*, one can read the image of 'mule' and associate it with the animal, mule. However, in the second order of signification, the completed message 'mule' becomes associated to broader ideological concepts such as the hard work it took to civilize a new and untamed land, the symbol of the golden age of farming, a symbol of a simpler time, or a reflection of the warm relationships between people and their hard-working animal friends.[16]

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[16] If one reflects back on many of the examples that I have used (the letter, murals and Street), one can see how mythic signification is already at work signifying things like harmony, safety, cooperation and face-to-face relationships. One can also see just how easily we read or associate complex meanings into seemingly simple, natural, everyday representational encounters.

Naturalization through "myth"

Although, Barthes recognized that there was an open-ended relationship between signifiers and signified within language, he suggested two important things about the function of myth within language that controls 'openness' within meaning making processes. First, it is through myth that much of the ideological meaning (a largely cultural phenomena) within language is naturalized (rendered innocent, transhistorical and 'taken for granted as true'). Myth, Barthes (1972) argued, had a double function: "it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us" (p. 117). If one returns to the previous representations of Stony Plain, the representations point out meaningful 'truths' associated with the importance of community (as a safe, secure, friendly, cooperative, hardworking social order) that people read within these texts. For Barthes (and similar to Nancy's (1991) suggestion of myth as a fiction that founds), representations like those in Stony Plain impose (limit) a particular conceptualisation of community. Additionally, these representations do not betray the historical or cultural factors at work shaping these particular significations of community (or as Nancy might suggest, that are reflecting a timeless essence of the origins).

Mythic signification then "*hides nothing*: its function is to distort, not make disappear" (Barthes, 1972, p. 121, emphasis in original). In other words, people familiar with these particular conceptualisations of community reflected in Stony Plain's representational practices recognize Cowan's letter, the murals, and Main Street as significant statements about the kind of community that is meaningful, valuable, productive and desirable. These same people, however, may not necessarily recognise the historical or socially contingent factors that led these particular significations to be valued over others; or, recognise how these significations influence social organisation. Community is just 'naturally' this way. The potentially open-ended relationship between signifier and signified is rendered innocent through naturalization within mythic signification. As Barthes explains, mythic signification colonizes the text and the interpretation, creating harmony between form and content of the representation. In this sense then, mythic signification does not hide meaning; "it distorts" meaning by limiting the possibility of differences that circulate within representational practices, and by having those limits perceived as reflecting natural phenomenon.

Stony Plain's participation in a nationally recognised beautification programme, *Communities in Bloom,* serves as an example of how the myth of community is rich with meaning as well as a certain form of rationality that seems to belong 'naturally' to history or fact. In August (2000), judges Margaret Howe and Hubert Noseworthy praised Stony Plain for its commitment to community involvement, local beautification and heritage representation:

> After touring the town for eight hours, Howe said, "Just be happy living in this community."
>
> "Stony Plain is obviously a warm and caring community," she observed, "and one with wonderful trails, sporting facilities, and displays of heritage through its murals"
>
> "Communities in Bloom is more than just flowers," she pointed out. "It goes to the heart and soul of community" (Gossen, 2000, p. A3).

In Howe's representation of Stony Plain, "[t]he meaning [of the myth of community] is already complete, it postulates a kind of knowledge, a past, a memory, a comparative order of facts, ideas, decisions" (Barthes, 1972, p. 117). Howe's comments reinforce Donna Cowan's universalized *we* of community who *all work together and are very, very proud of what we have.*

Paradoxically however, at the same time myth is creating a community that appears rich with meaning and timeless tradition, myth deflects scrutiny by emptying or evacuating itself of meaning (Barthes, 1972). The myth of ideal (or in this case, the 'beautiful') community distorts the historically contingent role that cultural capital and "taste" (Bourdieu, 1977) play in establishing the dominant forms of we; a *we* that values images of the rural, the natural, the cosmopolitan and heritage as contemporary signifiers of community, safety, social warmth, beauty, success and wealth. The visual image achieved by Stony Plain's participation in *Community in Blooms,* Main Street revitalization, and the mural program reinforce a perception of the entire community working harmoniously together to achieve this fabulous ideal. What the visual representation (mythic signification) silences is much of the persuasion and in many cases, coercion that was necessary to make Stony Plain "*Bloomin' Proud*"[17] (Figure 2-9) of its beautiful image.[18]

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[17] "*Bloomin' Proud*" is the slogan that was developed to represent both Stony Plain's eagerness to participate in and achievement within the *Communities in Bloom* programme. The *Bloomin' Proud* slogan was a signifier of wide-scale community involvement. Large flowerbeds were situated at Stony Plain's two main road accesses. Marigolds and petunias were planted in the beds in a design that proclaimed Stony Plain to be "*Bloomin' Proud*". Thousands of signs were given to local residents to place in their well-kept front yards declaring them to be *Bloomin' Proud* as well.

[18] I discuss *Communities in Bloom* and coercion in more detail in the next paper that explores disciplinary technologies and the use of violence in the making of community.

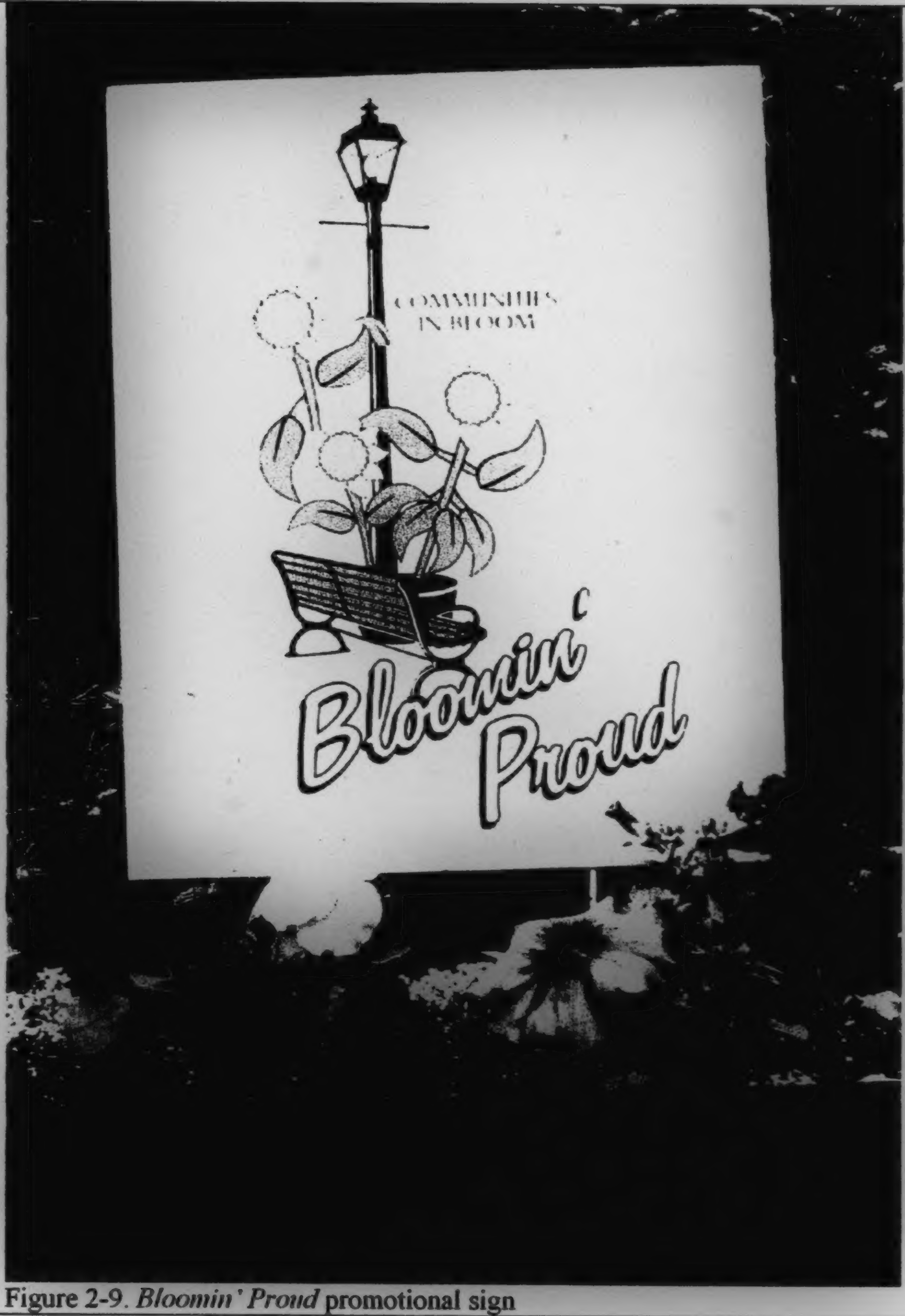

Figure 2-9. *Bloomin' Proud* promotional sign

Myth: Ideologically loaded and profoundly motivated

Second, Barthes recognized that although meaning within mythic signification appeared "natural", meaning within myth was [as I have already alluded to] actually ideologically loaded and profoundly motivated (Barthes, 1972; Lidchi, 1997). Mythic signification is effective because it appears to tell us what we already seem to know. Myth's appeal to 'what we already seem to know,' in this situation, now makes effective use of the open-ended nature of meaning in language through the evacuation of meaning within signifiers. Embedded within mythic signification are fragments of ideologies and cultural meanings that have come before. Instead of highlighting the differences that exist within representational practices, the fragments 'catch all' by appealing to the "natural" (usually the most dominant) signification as the most truthful or desirable concept. 'We', as highly differentiated individuals, can read/recognise as 'normal' and 'meaningful' dominant ideological concepts within particular signifiers, but do not necessarily recognize social or political differences and effects implicated in the signifying practice. Barthes (1972) uses the example of the "big wedding" to illustrate how dominant ideologies are naturalized and perpetuated through mythic signification:

> [T]he big wedding of the bourgeoisie, which originates in a class ritual (the display and consumption of wealth), can bear no relation to the economic status of the lower middle-class: but through the press, the news, and literature, it slowly becomes the very norm as dreamed, though not actually lived, of the petit-bourgeois couple….[I]t is as from the moment when a typist earning twenty pounds a month *recognizes herself* in the big wedding of the bourgeoisie that bourgeois ex-nomination achieves it full effect (p. 141, emphasis in original).

In much the same way, Mayor Cowan, David Staples and Terry Vander Schaaf recognize themselves as part of the *we* within the signification of community in Stony Plain's heritage and tourism representations, without necessarily recognising the ideologies at work in shaping this particular vision/version of community or their particular situation within it.

Myth depoliticises the difference that exists between people in community, by allowing them to recognise themselves, their values and their desires in many of the ideological fragments that comprise popular representations of community. Myth masks dominant ideological structures of power that are at work in its production and circulation; and, masks our complicity within those structures. Terry Eagleton (1991) describes the problem as follows:

> A dominant power may legitimate itself by promoting beliefs and values congenial to it; naturalizing and universalizing such beliefs so as to render them self-evident and apparently inevitable; denigrating ideas which might challenge it, excluding rival forms of thought, perhaps by some unspoken although systematic logic; and obscuring social reality in ways convenient to itself. Such 'mystification', as it is commonly known, frequently takes the form of mashing or suppressing social conflicts, from which arises a conception of ideology as an imaginary resolution of real contradictions (p. 5-6).

The naturalized, depoliticised myth of community creates problems for one concerned with questions of community and the circulation of difference because mythic signification manages to deflect or render innocent dominant social relationships/patterns that appear natural, but quite often determine who gets to count within communal representations. The *we* that Mayor Cowan so often speaks of, as being central to Stony Plain's community is a *we* that presumes and, in many ways, needs the image of equality amongst its members. Indeed, Mayor Cowan, Vander Schaaf, the Chamber of Commerce and Staples are under a tremendous burden to prop up and perpetuate the concept of equality as a central tenant of the 'ideal community' representation. For, to be a successful community, Stony Plain must be the place, where everyone gets to play and everyone gets to win. The representation of a community of equals, however, deflects from the social, political and economic factors/inequalities that underlie and motivate Stony Plain's representations of community and renders many people's situations in the community precarious.

Myth of community: Ideology and power

> The chamber of commerce was looking for ways to promote the new murals. *Souvenir companies were asked to come in to pitch ideas.* It was then *Terry Vander Schaaf*[19] *came in* with licence plates with various slogans about the murals. *One of the slogans was "The Town with the Painted Past".*
>
> The *chamber of commerce* didn't care for the licence plates, but was *hot on the slogan.* What happened next is not clear. *According to past chamber president John Buitenbos, Vander Schaaf said that it would be OK to use the slogan to promote the town. There was no talk of him being paid.*
>
> But *according to Vander Schaaf, the town could use the slogan to promote itself, but if the slogan was going to be used on commercial goods*, such as coffee cups, T-shirts and key chains, *he said he wanted royalties* (Staples, 1997, p. B1).

By this point in the Staples' article, it is obvious that the myth of ideal community is not working out particularly well for *town leaders, Stony Plain boosters* or *Terry Vander Schaaf.* The myth of community is not sustained, even though these people have collectively managed (in David Staples' words) to *turn another nondescript Alberta town into something special.* What the slogan conflict exposes, are the inequalities that do exist in the formation(s) of community and some of the underlying ideologies that are naturalized and hidden via mythic signification. In this section, I return to the idea of the storyteller as a way to complicate two ideas: the underlying ideologies at work in the development of the myth of ideal community, and who is invested with the duty, the right, the privilege (Nancy, 1991) to tell the stor/y(ies) of community within these ideological formations.

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[19] Terry Vander Schaaf owned a local sign making and advertising business.

Ideologies underlying the myth of community: 'Heritage'

> The invention of myth is bound with the use of its power (Nancy, 1991, p. 9).
>
> [H]eritage means anything you want. It means everything and it means nothing, and yet it has developed into a whole industry.
> -Lord Charteris (former chairperson, British National Trust)[20]

Robert Hewison (1987) suggests that heritage and heritage representations in museums, heritage sites and tourist destinations have become, in large part, empty signifiers that are used to buttress conservative social, political and economic interests in times of uncertainty and rapid change. "The past" he argues, "has been summoned to rescue the present" and is an attempt at a "symbolic recovery of the way we were" (p. 21). Hewison's arguments, and others like it, about the development of the heritage industry[21] offer valuable insights into understanding key principles driving Stony Plain's heritage and tourist representations of ideal community and into understanding who can become a storyteller of community and under what conditions.

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[20] See Charteris in Hewison (1987).

[21] Hewison's investigated the rise of the heritage industry in Britain from approximately the early 1970s until the mid 1980s. He did extrapolate to a limited number of American examples. I would like to point out that Canada, the United States, Australia and much of Europe have had analogous experiences in turns to heritage based tourism development. Indeed, heritage-based tourist

Social, economic, political and environmental change has prompted much of the writing of the myth(s) of community via heritage-based community development. Much of the change that motivates heritage-based community development is rooted in a wide-scale perception or communal loss (Hewison, 1987; Lowenthal, 1998). In the section, *'Accurate' accounts: What 'really' happened in Stony Plain,* I spoke of how rapid changes in Alberta and Stony Plain's social, economic and physical structures generated a profound sense of loss, decline and uncertainty for many people in the community of Stony Plain and this sense of loss helped to motivate the turn toward heritage-based community development. The influence that change has on perceptions of community is not simply about the threat of decline, but about fear and the loss of identity. Change is perceived as creating a rupture between what is believed to be a certain/knowable past and an angst generating uncertain/unknowable future (Hewison, 1987). The loss of family farms, the destruction or agricultural land, the weakening of rural values with the influx of urban forms and the death of Main Street are read by concerned locals as signifiers of declining traditional values and beliefs and waning social and economic stability. Lowenthal (1998) describes the loss and angst associated with rapid large-scale social, political and economic change as follows:

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development is a significant global phenomenon (See: Heatherington, 1996; Lumley, 1988; MacCannell, 1992; Urry, 1995).

> These trends engender isolation and dislocation of self from family, family from neighbourhood, neighbourhood from nation, and even one-self from one's former selves. Such changes reflect manifold aspects of life -increasing longevity, family dissolution, the loss of familiar surroundings, quickened obsolescence, genocide and wholesale migration, and a growing fear of technology. They erode future expectations, heighten past awareness, and instill among millions the view that they need and are owed a heritage (Lowenthal, 1998, p. 6).

The turn or re-turn to heritage [legacy, tradition, birthright][22] is an attempt to re-assert or re-establish what are believed to be the community's core values and beliefs. Heritage is the bond that will hold the community together through times of change, and more importantly help the community to flourish. For, "[t]o share a legacy is to belong to a family, a community, a race, a nation" (Lowenthal, 1998, p. 2). The turn to heritage becomes a way to cope with the uncertainty that change provokes. The reassertion of heritage within the myth of community reflects what Barthes (1985) termed the "repressive value of myth". Within heritage-based community development, heritage is deployed as a unifying bond and acts as a social technique that is developed to "fix the floating drain of signified in such a way as to counter the terror of uncertain signs" (p. 28).

The turn to heritage, especially heritage-based community development, poses Barthes' familiar problem of naturalization and depoliticising through mythic signification. The reassertion of heritage as common shared qualities amongst all people deflects the inequitable sharing of power and resources within communities, and even between communities in a largely global economy (Hewison, 1987). The reassertion of heritage also deflects attention from the many different social adaptations to change that may be occurring. In this sense, although heritage representation and heritage-based community development is deployed as something that is common to all, it tends to be an “elitist practice” (Urry, 1996) that reinforces dominant, conservative social, political and [especially] economic values (Hewison, 1987; Walsh, 1992). For example, Walsh (1992) described how the English Country House became the symbol of English nationalism and tradition after World War II. The English Country House came to represent the pinnacle of power within the British Empire by appealing to neo-conservative values rooted in tradition, family values, Victorian morality and conservative economics. The English Country House became a popular symbol of Englishness even though it represented a very small elite within the English population. In the context of Stony Plain, Main Street becomes a recognizable symbol of the vibrant Prairie town. The heritage signified within representations of Main Street, in this sense, is deployed as a unifying force, and is meant to reflect a town rooted in traditions of success, wealth, equality, rural values, kinship, friendship and harmony. However, what is not so readily apparent is how the veneers of Main Street’s heritage façades serve the values and interests of a relatively small number of local elites, *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters*.

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[22] See Webster's 7th Collegiate Dictionary, 1970 for a definition of "heritage" as legacy, tradition, and/or birthright. It is particularly useful to note the aspect of essence or origins in appeals to heritage. Heritage is firmly grounded in a perception that we can understand or know our core identities, for they are timeless, eternal natural. To lose our heritage then is to lose our identities.

Storytellers: Town leaders and Stony Plain Boosters

In order to appreciate who gets to be a *town leader* and *Stony Plain booster* as well as recognise the ideologies that buttress leadership and boosterism, one needs to understand roles of leaders and boosters in Prairie settlement. The settlement of the Canadian Prairies by predominantly European and American settlers was in many ways reliant on storytelling as a creative force, or "fiction that founds" (Nancy, 1991). Before western settlement, the lands of Western Canada and the Great Plains of the United States were considered "vast desert wasteland[s]" (Francis, 1982, p. 5).[23] However, with Canadian political and economic expansion into the region and the appearance of romantic representations of the West (for example, in the paintings of Paul Kane, the writings of John Ballantyne and immigration propaganda literature), the land became characterized as the "greatest agricultural region in the world" (Francis, 1982, p. 9). Indeed, boosterism emerges out of the successful productions of such representations and out of the desire for increased urbanization and economic opportunities within the settlement West. Boosterism appears as a form of storytelling aimed specifically at the transformation of the hinterland into new and ideal social/economic utopia. The development of the West was, and in many ways still is, represented as a grand social experiment. The new society of the West is young, free, virile and natural. It could keep the best of the old world, but also start anew, not constrained by convention, or caste that plagued the old world regimes:

> [t]he West was seen as the home of democracy, the inspiration for reform, and the seed-bed of individualism, radicalism and freedom, in contrast to the more privileged conservative and reactionary East (Francis, 1982, p.12).

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[23] I am speaking here from a context of European and American settlement of Western Canada and the United States. I very much recognize that these lands are inhabited by important and vital First Nation cultures.

Between 1870 and 1913, the Prairies were rapidly developing urban infrastructures. A civic commercial elite who identified locally and practiced boosterism dominated most settlement communities. This civic commercial elite "identified their own fortunes with those of their chosen communities" (Artibise, 1982, p. 37).[24] The rise of individual fortune would lead (boosters and leaders believed) to the rise of communal fortune. Boosterism, then, becomes a significant tool within the creation narratives of the new communities of the West. Urban[25] leaders created booster stories to attract migrants and economic interests to new developing urban landscapes. The booster stories were a "deliberate attempt… to present an inflated image of [these new] home town[s] in hopes of eventual self-fulfilling prophecy" (Francis, 1982, p. 10) (Figure 2-10).[26] Boosting was considered essential to progress and prosperity of urban centres and became synonymous with "citizenship" within local communities:

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[24] Many of Stony Plain's murals are devoted to its earliest boosters (for example, John McDonald [*Early Stoney Plain postal service*, Gregoraschuk, 1991] credited with naming Stony Plain and operating its first general store; the Miller brothers [*The general store*, More, 1990] who operated a general store and had business interests in a local hotel; or, Fred Lundy [*Goods in kind*, Scott, 1991] who was one of Stony Plain's first lawyers and politicians).

[25] Urbanism in the Canadian West often looked back (i.e. to Europe) for urban designs and ambitions: "The placement of towns and the layout of their main streets often expressed metropolitan ambitions on the frontier. Towns were needed to organize local trade with larger, more distant centers" (Wetherell & Kmet, 1995, p. 289).

[26] One of Stony Plain's first booster slogans was "Fertile Stony Plain" (c. 1905). The banner with the slogan was draped across Main Street. The slogan was an allusion to the wealth and prosperity that could be reaped by the hard work of new immigrant farmers through the cultivation and harvest of the rich soil surrounding Stony Plain. (See a representation of this "Fertile Stony Plain" slogan on the Stony Plain and District welcome sign, located on 48th Street southbound as one enters the town. One could also the photo of this early representation on page 59 of "A celebration of our heritage" [2001]). The "Fertile Stony Plain" slogan appears as one mural panel in *The Gatherings* (see figure 10).

> …town boosters saw growth not only as the product of location, urban linkages and history, but of individual self-initiative working in tandem with public support. By granting business owners status as the natural leaders of society, town government was viewed largely as a support for private enterprise and not a public effort with complex and varied goals. If a town provided the infrastructure and subsidies to attract and sustain commerce and industry, the benefits would spread to its population through higher employment, increased real estate values, and the trickle-down of wealth. As various studies of cities have shown, this 'privatism' delivered the benefits it promised only to a small elite, and it often created wider social problems (Wetherell & Kmet, 1995, p. 21).[27]

Artibise (1982) posits that after 1913 urban communities in the Canadian Prairies experienced a series of crises (i.e. 1913, recession; 1914-1918, WWI; 1930, depression; 1939-1945, WWII) that rendered boosterism an ineffective strategy of civic leadership. Boosterism declined, Artibise suggests, with the erosion of local autonomy via Provincial and Federal Governments interference, the rise of corporatism and increasingly foreign ownership and control of resource based industries. I, on the other hand, suggest that this kind of elitism and boosterism is still very much a driving force within contemporary formations of community. Indeed, contemporary social, economic and political conditions associated with globalization encourage both boosterism and the [re]assertion elitist interests.[28]

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[27] One thing that is important to note, is that often the civic commercial elites and the municipal government elites were often comprised of the same people or similar type of people. It becomes very difficult to separate the interests and values of these two different groups. I would also suggest that this trend of integration of business and municipal interests continues today. For example, Mayor Cowan was a local Main Street business owner and, at one point, was President of the Stony Plain and District Chamber of Commerce. As well, many of the present and past Town counselors are affiliated with the local real estate, housing development and service industries.

[28] Stony Plain's implementation of the mural program, renovation of Main Street and turn to tourism were motivated, on one hand, by Provincial government incentives (i.e. Community Tourism Action Plan); and on the other hand, by Provincial government off-loading. For example, the Provincial government cut significant budget allocations to Alberta's municipal governments, but gave these same municipalities small seed grants to develop their communities. The Provincial government was working within a conservative ideology of self-help. Municipalities that were

Terry Vander Schaaf's slogan, "Stony Plain: The town with the painted past" and the conflict that emerges over the slogan's use are interesting for they do two paradoxical things. First, the slogan becomes an effective story of community that serves well the interests of *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters*. Second, the slogan and the conflict around it interrupt the interests of *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* and expose the limits [economic motivation and civic commercial elitism] that are hidden within the myth of the ideal community.

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successful would be those municipalities who could create and sustain investment and residential growth through their own planning and hard work. In fact, the Alberta government has its own slogan, "The Alberta Advantage". "The Alberta Advantage" is a declaration/signification on the part of the Alberta government that Alberta is "open for business". Albertans, the slogan suggests, provide a supportive economic climate, a willing workforce and unlimited resources for those businesses that really want to succeed in the competitive global economy. One can recognize within the Provincial mandate and slogan the trickle down ideology prevalent in settlement booster society.

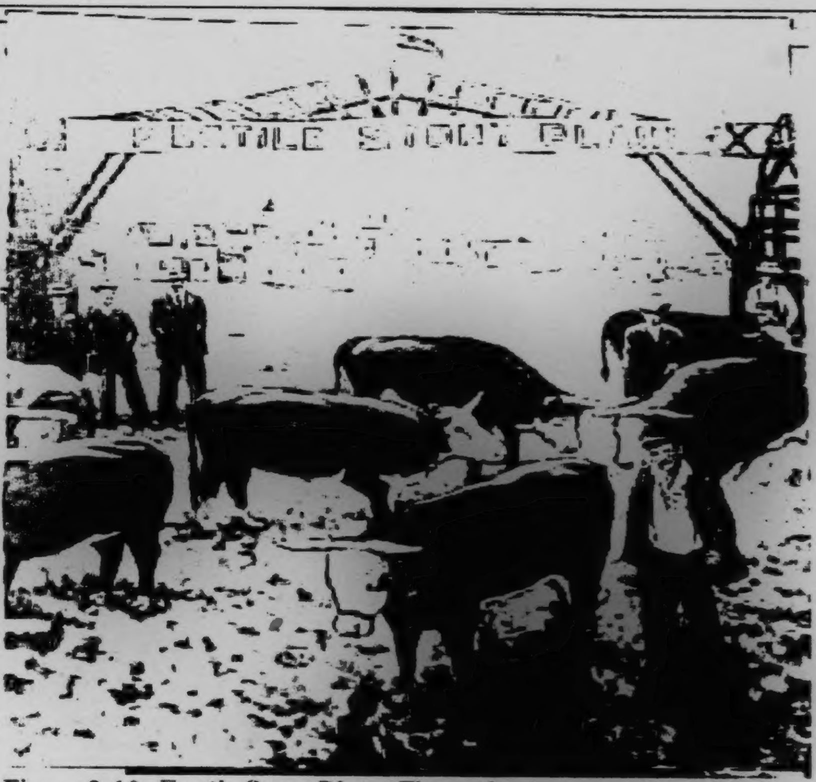

Figure 2-10. *Fertile Stony Plain* (*The gatherings* mural panel)

Boosters writing community: Hot on the slogan

There are material stakes at work in the representation of places as ideal communities to live and do business. Just as the boosters of early settlement towns believed it was important to create desirable images of community to attract settlement and investment, contemporary cities, towns, regions and their boosters are under increasing pressure to attract residents and perhaps more importantly business investment to their locations:[29]

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[29] Business investment is perceived as more desirable than residential investment from an economic perspective. Businesses pay higher taxes and employ people, whereas increased residents are perceived as a resource drain. For example, Stony Plain has been very successful at attracting residents and had become an important bedroom community to the city of Edmonton and to several regional coalmines and generating stations. The population was around 7 500 in 1996 and is now (2003) approximately 11 000. The population boom is a cost drain to the

> Most cities and regions are forced to compete with each other to attract the attention of increasingly mobile investors, and are always vulnerable to the loss of what they have attracted. Those that fail in this inter-urban competition -this race between cities- are relegated to the margins of the global economy (du Gay, 1997, p. 25).

The *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* recognized that they might improve current business opportunities and establish new opportunities by representing Stony Plain as a stable, vital and hard-working community. The *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* (members Chamber of Commerce and the Municipality) recognized the importance of "image marketing" (duGay, 1997, p. 31) as means to gain competitive advantage over other neighbouring municipalities when *[s]ouvenir companies were asked to come in to pitch ideas.*

Haider (in du Gay, 1997) tells how "image marketing [has become] perhaps the most frequently employed marketing approach to place development by states, cities and other places" (p. 31). The town slogan or corporate slogan is one of the front line weapons in the image making and image marketing arsenals of cities and towns. The creative power of image marketing is that it can "reinforce existing positive images, neutralize and change unfavourable ones, or create new images where [few] or no images exist" (Haider in du Gay, 1997, p. 31). The *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* were *hot on the* (Terry Vander Schaaf's) *slogan* because they grasped its creative image-making power in representing Stony Plain as a desirable location. The slogan was celebrated as an *excellent name, very catchy* and *certainly described what we have here.* The *very catchy* slogan has mythic qualities

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municipality, since it requires a significant increase in infrastructure development and service because it could "caus[e] an immediate impression" (Barthes, 1972, p. 130). The slogan could tell a story that would set Stony Plain apart from many of the region's other ideal communities.[30] The slogan could give Stony Plain (*town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters*) the competitive edge in attracting investment, residents and tourists over its nearest rivals. For example, Stony Plain is in direct local, communal competition with places like, "Leduc: The Living City with the right connections"[31]; "Beaumont: Life is Better in Beaumont"[32]; or, "Warburg: The friendly community"[33]. One of the most pointed (albeit, unofficial) slogans that

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offerings.

[30] I say other ideal communities for two reasons. First, as I am suggesting in this section, the use of image marketing as a means of attracting scarce and highly mobile business investment, residents and tourists is wide spread concern for many local places. In this sense, every place that is engaging in this form of image marketing becomes the ideal community worthy of attention, praise and investment. Second, since many of the towns and cities involved in image marketing can actually offer up similar services and resources to potential investors, residents and tourists, it becomes a difficult challenge to convince investors, residents and tourists about which specific place is more worthy of their patronage. In this sense then, regional people are typically able to recognize the amenities that neighboring communities are trying to use as enticement/advertisement to outside interests (Tauxe, 1998). For example, a recent argument has been brewing within the Capital Region of Alberta. Local leaders and boosters within the Capital Region (the Cities of Edmonton, St. Albert, Leduc, Spruce Grove; the Towns of Stony Plain and Devon; and the Counties of Parkland, Strathcona, Fort Saskatchewan and Black Gold) have been involved in a regional campaign to promote business and tourism. The City of Edmonton wanted the corporate logo of the region to incorporate Edmonton's name into the slogan, for example, "The greater Edmonton region". The complaint by other members within this regional affiliation is that naming Edmonton specifically gives too much promotional weight to the City of Edmonton. The affiliates believe that a slogan incorporating the name Edmonton will serve the interests of Edmonton, but that the interests of their particular cities, towns and counties would be harmed within such a biased slogan. There is some merit in this argument. Edmonton has been trying form many years to either annex some of these regional municipalities or consolidate the regional tax base that would then be controlled by Edmonton. There has been a lot of resistance from the other regional governments (McKeen, 2003).

[31] The slogan infers Leduc's proximity to the region's International Airport, the province's capital city (Edmonton), and the trans-Provincial High Way #2 that links Southern Alberta with Northern Alberta.

[32] Beaumont is a bedroom community to Edmonton and a local industrial development at Nisku.

[33] Warbug is attempting to establish itself as a commuter town to Edmonton and Nisku; however, is it a little too far away, lacking major highway frontage, and with few services to garner much investment or residential inflow.

play off of this inter-communal competition is one that belongs to Spruce Grove.[34] A Spruce Grove housing development company erected a large billboard on the commuter high way between Spruce Grove and Stony Plain. Its message, "Spruce Grove: If you lived here you would be home by now". The Spruce Grove slogan was aimed at Stony Plain commuters who have to drive, at least, five more kilometres before they arrive home.

The slogan: Painting the past, reaffirming the myth of community

The slogan "Stony Plain: The town with the painted past" does certainly describe *what we have here* because it efficiently and effectively signifies (the myth of) community, while serving underlying economic ideologies. This simple slogan is so good because it seems to capture the essence of Stony Plain's community. First, the slogan points to the 'fact' that *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* have 'painted the past' (become the storytellers of Stony Plain's community) through the mural program and the renovation of much of the Stony Plain's downtown core.

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[34] There is an intense local rivalry between Stony Plain and Spruce Grove. Much of the rivalry involves posturing that signifies/proves that one place is a better community (e.g. via sport competition, infrastructure development, amenities, and so forth). For example, people in Stony Plain often say they live in a real community because Stony Plain has a Main Street. The intended target of the real community comment, although its name often remains unsaid is Spruce Grove. Spruce Grove, although it has city status, close to 20 000 people in it, and has been settled as long as Stony Plain, is not considered a real community by Stony Plainers because Spruce Grove has no Main Street. Spruce Grove is not a real community and it is even considered ugly by Stony Plain standards because Spruce Grove has a major highway bisecting it and no real downtown core. Spruce Grove has had a lot of success with highway-based business development. Ironically, although Stony Plain has a real Main Street, the Main Street businesses have struggled and much of the Town's new business development has shifted to the highway corridor as well. The (re)assertion of Stony Plain's Main Street is an attempt to (re)establish the economic importance of Stony Plain as well as to (re)confirm the notion of the downtown as being the heart of Stony Plain's community. It is in this (re)emphasizing of community and the symbolic value of Main Street that Stony Plain is constructed as better than Spruce Grove. For example, Gil Rekken, the design consultant who helped to rejuvenate Stony Plain's downtown core, posits that Stony Plain's main "advantage" over Spruce Grove is that there is "a lot of history here [in Stony Plain]" that could "be picked up and pay off" (Stony Plain Reporter, 1988, p. 8).

Second, *Town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* recognised Vander Schaaf's slogan was a good, *very catchy* story because it could captivate readers and draw them in to both hear the stories of Stony Plain and participate in Stony Plain's economic stories. The slogan plays off the curiosity of the reader/listener. When one hears/reads of someone 'having a painted past', what is implied in this saying is that this person is different. The person is so different, in fact, that his or her values, beliefs and behaviours disrupt, perplex and contradict well-established social norms. The saying serves to titillate the listeners, encouraging them to find out what makes this person different and dangerous to social [communal] values. The *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* recognized that this aspect of the slogan could serve to entice and lure investors, residents and tourists in. In fact, it does not matter that the messages contained within the heritage representations are not so socially disruptive, since the main intention of the slogan is to get the attention of others.

Third and arguably most important, after the slogan captures the attention of outsiders, it actually manages to diffuse the dangerous potential of difference that one has when one has a painted past. At this point, the 'painted past' comes to signify the apparently factual representation of Stony Plain's (glorious) past. The images represented in Stony Plain's heritage representations merely reflect the authentic events and real people that have made Stony Plain into the [ideal] community that it is today. The painted past alluded to in the slogan and represented within the murals become public symbols, signifying Stony Plain's well-founded civic pride and economic success.

Civic pride: Leaders and boosters

In the section, *Storytellers: Town leaders, Stony Plain boosters*, I suggest that, in order to understand who gets to be a *town leader* and a *Stony Plain booster* and to recognise the ideologies that buttress leadership and boosterism, one needs to reflect upon the central role that small "civic commercial elites" (Wetherell & Kmet, 1995) play in the economic development and social structuring of Prairie towns. In this section, I propose that civic pride and community service are central to appreciating the conflict between Terry Vander Schaaf and his community. I suggest that one must return to the settlement era in order to comprehend how notions of civic pride and community service (especially service as a form of selflessness/volunteerism) become guiding principles within contemporary booster culture. Civic pride and community service serve the function of myth (Barthes, 1972) by naturalizing, reinforcing and perpetuating booster interests, whilst at the same time deflecting scrutiny away from those interests.

The "booster ethos" established within the settlement era, Wetherell and Kmet (1995) posit, was reliant upon

> turn-of-the-century capitalist social and economic theory which reinforced the work ethic and portrayed economic life as an unremitting competitive struggle for survival and mastery. Growth was a central measure of success, and it was easily understood: the larger the town, the more successful. Towns, like private corporations, grew, died, or stagnated in direct ratio to the initiative of their leaders (p. 21).

The coupling of individual initiative with communal success within booster rhetoric during Prairie settlement is important. Booster rhetoric established what were to be considered important characteristics in the relationship between individuals and their community. Booster stories created authoritative and immediate links between the strong individual commitment of local civic commercial elites and the emergence of a town's economic prosperity and positive social structure (Artibise, 1982). Civic commercial elites believed that if settlement towns were to not only survive, but prosper, then they needed individuals who were going to invest, not only their money and their talents, but also their hearts and souls into their new communities (Tauxe, 1998; Wetherell & Kmet, 1995). In this way, the trickle down effect was not limited to economic prosperity, but spilled over into conceptions of social prosperity as well. Even though booster stories emphasized obvious economic themes of wealth, prosperity and the potential for infinite economic growth within prairie towns, booster stories also emphasised the importance of social wealth and community cohesiveness. A settlement town's social wealth and cohesiveness was believed to closely parallel its economic prosperity. Community cohesiveness, positive thinking, cooperative endeavour, progress, and the benefits of hard work characterized what was good and true in the relationship between successful individuals and their successful communities within booster sentiments (Wetherell & Kmet, 1995).

Civic pride emerges out of booster ideology. Representations of townspeople as hard-working individuals (especially hard-working, successful business people) with strong, healthy families and friendly neighbours, as well as positive images of bustling, clean, well-built business districts were believed to be, in large part, responsible for creating successful, vital Prairie communities. Wetherell and Kmet (1995) provide examples of the "booster ethos" and although these particular examples are from the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau (1913), the sentiments expressed in these statements were widely held in Canadian Prairie and American Great Plains cities and towns[35]:

> …"the success of any city depends on the progressiveness of its citizens", "the growth of a town depends absolutely upon the cooperative efforts of its citizenship", "citizens who organize for the common good of the city are the greatest factors in social, financial and commercial betterment," and, among others, that "good business men make big cities, for they grasp the great opportunities to be gained through progress and development" (Wetherell & Kmet, 1995, p. 20).

Since the broader community's economic health and social vitality was believed to rest in the positive images of the community and upon the strong, broad shoulders of the community's businessmen,[36] it was important to the community that all citizens reinforce the positive images and optimistic talk that came out of the booster ethos.

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[35] See: Artibise (1982); Atherton (1952); Francaviglia (1977); Francis (1982); Goist (1977); Jones (1982); Hummon (1986).

[36] I use the term, businessmen, because boosterism emerged out of what was predominantly male-based business and governmental organization. Females did participate in booster activities through venues like church committees, organizations and social organization (like the Canadian Women's Institute and the Red Cross). Female booster focus was often directed toward the betterment of social conditions (health and sanitation, educations, libraries, public parks and green spaces, and community relief efforts). For example, the mural, *For home and country* (Romagnoli, 2000) represents "the history and personalities of the Stony Plain's Women's Institute [WI] from its inception in 1913 to the present" (Town of Stony Plain, 2001, p. 58). The WI's motto was "For Home and Country" and its members proudly performed "community service in a number of ways" (2001, p. 58). The mural represents aspects of their varied service (literacy, education, blood drives, community theatre, and war relief). Many of the women involved in such booster activities were the booster wives and daughters of local civic elites (Wood, 1955; Wood, 1982; Wetherell & Kmet, 1995).

It is important to point out at this juncture, that civic commercial elites did indeed do more than just produce optimistic economic representation and positive self/communal images. These people were active in organizing and establishing the physical infrastructures within their new towns and cities, and they did work toward social betterment (developing educational, health, and service infrastructures and programmes). What is equally import (especially to the slogan conflict), however, is that the service performed by town leaders and boosters was often perceived to be voluntary service and selfless. That is, the service that leaders and boosters performed was represented and perceived as altruistic. The service was enacted for the common good of the community and not for the selfish benefit of the individual. Community service achieved an elevated status within Prairie social organization because it (appeared) that all of the people within the community benefited from the hard (unpaid) work of a few key citizens (Artibise, 1982; Tauxe, 1998; Wetherell & Kmet, 1995). This form of community service was certainly productive and valuable for many people within the local context, but it was also clearly served and reinforced the interests of local civic, cultural and commercial elites. Participation in community service and volunteerism was a successful tool in averting scrutiny from the social and economic privilege and power of the local civic commercial elite.

Since (within the myth of community) communal fortunes were believed to rise with the success of the civic commercial elites and the establishment of positive, investment-generating communal images, communal fortunes might plummet if the images of the business elite or the community were tarnished

(Atherton, 1952). Indeed, any public opposition, questioning or criticizing of a town's boosters, leaders or the town's image was considered an attack on the health and well-being of the community and met with fierce public censure. As urban historian Alan Artibise states, "the basic tenets of boosterism [was] a single-minded commitment to economic growth and scorn for anyone who did not wholeheartedly support it" (Wetherell & Kmet, 1995, p. 20). Wetherell and Kmet effectively describe how booster ideology did not tolerate criticism and actively policed public representations of community:

> While boosters may have been committed to individual economic effort, individual expression was highly problematic. Seemingly, only those who possessed a booster pedigree could criticize anything affecting economic development. Others ran the risk of being labelled disloyal croakers, and there were few forums in which contrary opinions could be formally or rationally expressed. The standard booster response to this limitation of public expression was that if one disagreed with the course of public life, one should become involved and change conditions from within. However, since booster rhetoric governed not only public discourse but public institutions in small centres, even criticism from within was suspect. While the cultural and political ideal of free speech could not be denied, it was still best to avoid negative thinking. (p. 23).

It is within this booster ideology that community becomes defined primarily within economic terms; and that citizenship and belonging become defined by service to and pride in the growth and development of the (business) community. It is within these particular booster conceptions of community that the slogan conflict between Terry Vander Schaaf and *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* is most firmly rooted.

Terry Vander Schaaf: Very catchy slogan writer, bad booster

> According to past chamber president John Buitenbos, Vander Schaaf said that it would be OK to use the slogan to promote the town. *There was no talk of him being paid.*
>
> *But according to Vander Schaaf, the town could use the slogan to promote itself, but if the slogan was going to be used on commercial goods, such as coffee cups, T-shirts and key chains, he said he wanted royalties.* About a year after this meeting, *Vander Schaaf saw his slogan on a coffee cup in a store and went back to the chamber, saying he would like to be paid.* He came up with, *a $20 000 advertising campaign that would include billboards around Alberta* with his slogan. But *the chamber rejected him*, saying that *they liked the slogan and wanted to keep it, but if it was going to cost them money*, then Vander Schaaf could have it back.
>
> Vander Schaaf, who had by then moved out of town, responded by *asking for $5 000* for the rights to the slogan. *The Town was reluctant to pay.* Says Mayor Cowan: *"We hoped that he would be proud of the community that he was born and raised in. He would have an opportunity (at a banquet) for us to say that Terry Vander Schaaf thought this up and we're proud of it.* But for *some reason that didn't come about.* We're very disappointed." In the end, *the town like the slogan so much that it offered $1 500.* But *Vander Schaaf refused* (Staples, 1997, p. B1).

The problem that arises with the slogan conflict is that not everyone gets to be the storyteller of the ideal community, and not everyone gets to be a *town leader* and/or *Stony Plain booster.* It does not matter that Vander Schaaf tells the story of ideal community better by creating a *very catchy* "grand myth" of community with his slogan, "Stony Plain: The town with the painted past". It does not matter that he can skilfully write a "fiction that founds" (Nancy, 1991). It does not even matter that Vander Schaaf exposes, through the development of *a $20 000 advertising campaign that would include billboards around Alberta,* the underlying ideology (economic development) driving Stony Plain's heritage- based community development. What does matter is that Vander Schaaf's desire to be paid for the *very catchy* slogan is read as an action that undermines the myth of community, especially the myth of community that is rooted in ideals of civic pride, cohesiveness and selflessness. In order to be a successful storyteller about Stony Plain as the ideal community, Vander Schaaf must renounce ownership of the slogan and quietly fade into the background of community. Vander Schaaf must be *proud of the community that he was born and raised in* and give the slogan to the community, and to the *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* who have the "right, privileges and duty" (Nancy, 1991) to tell the stor(y/ies) of Stony Plain. Vander Schaaf's control over and ownership of the slogan as well as his desire to be paid for the slogan, undermines *town leaders'* and *Stony Plain boosters'* carefully cultivated myth about Stony Plain as the ideal community where *the people . . . all work together and are very, very proud of what we have.* By wanting to be *paid for its [the slogan's] use* and by wanting *royalties* when the slogan is *used on commercial goods, such as coffee cups, T-shirts and key chains,* Vander Schaaf exposes the limit and "interrupts" (Nancy, 1991) the grand myth of Stony Plain as an ideal community. By not voluntarily giving up the rights to the slogan, Vander Schaaf creates the slogan conflict, the notion of Stony Plain, as ideal community breaks down, and the slogan story denigrates, in Staples' words, into just another *sorry, small-town tale.*

Civic pride and volunteerism

The coupling of community service and volunteer service are still persistent within contemporary community development discourses and they help to reinforce myths about ideal communities. The role of the volunteer, especially the volunteer as the epitome of selfless servant to the community, is a significant feature within the production of the ideal community. Mayor Cowan's comment "*the people in this community all work together and are very, very proud of what we have*" represents success within the community as something that is achieved through cooperative endeavour and communal pride. *Town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* become civic pride's key representatives because they are represented and perceived as tireless volunteers for the betterment of the larger community. Terry Vander Schaaf's relationship, his good standing within Stony Plain's ideal community is predicated upon being able to fulfill the role of the good selfless volunteer, who *would be proud of the community that he was born and raised in.* If Vander Schaaf would voluntarily offer up his creative services to the community, refuse payment for the slogan, and become invisible or anonymous as the storyteller, then he could be a good leader within the booster society of Stony Plain's civic commercial elites.

Terry Vander Schaaf was under a tremendous communal burden to voluntarily release his claim to the slogan and his role as a storyteller of Stony Plain's ideal community:

> *We hoped that he would be proud of the community that he was born and raised in. He would have an opportunity (at a banquet) for us to say that Terry Vander Schaaf thought this up and we're proud of it.*

Cowan's comments about Vander Schaaf's role in the community plays off of the explicit ideals rooted within Prairie settlement ideals that community is co-operative, egalitarian, amicable and family-oriented. In lieu of payment for the slogan or royalties, Vander Schaaf was encouraged to show his support for his larger Stony Plain family by receiving communal recognition at the annual volunteer banquet. Cowan's comments are particularly weighty because they mark Vander Schaaf as a long time resident[37] and explicitly work on Vander Schaaf's sense of civic duty and responsibility to his home, his community. Tauxe (1998), who examines the American "heartland" myth, suggests that a certain sense of "moral superiority" and "claims to greater commitment to the community" (p. 17) were associated with and expected from long-time locals. Indeed, Vander Schaaf's pioneer kinfolk echo the importance of the long-time locals in the making of settlement communities: "These pioneers did not go down in the annals of history, but they, like so many of their contemporaries who made their small contributions, are part of the pattern that shaped Stony Plain as it is today" (Fisher [Zucht], 1982, p. 604).[38]

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[37] Indeed, Vander Schaaf's family is considered to be an important founding family within the Stony Plain area. Vander Schaaf's grandfather, Michael Zucht, is depicted in the mural, *Early Stoney Plain Postal Service*. Vander Schaaf's great-grandfather's 'livery stable is depicted in the mural, *Making a Friend.*

[38] This quote by an aunt of Terry Vander Schaaf is very interesting. The quote is written at the end of a family history that appears in a local history book about Stony Plain, *Along the Fifth*. The quote and the family history, in which it appears, represent and reinforce the image that settlement communities were cooperative, egalitarian, and amicable and family based. The Zucht family story, as well the other family stories in *Along the fifth* and similar local history books, are remarkably conflict free and avoided any mention of social inequality and communal conflict (see

The unwillingness of *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* to pay for a *very catchy* slogan that both fulfills the myth of Stony Plain as the ideal community and cleverly supports community development's economic ideology deflects scrutiny from the social and economic power of the civic commercial elite within contemporary Prairie towns. The offer of recognition at a celebratory supper for volunteers and modest *$1 500* honorarium for the slogan are deemed to be high praise for an individual within the booster community. The failure to resolve the conflict amicably, that is, Vander Schaaf not voluntarily relinquishing his rights to the slogan is met with appearing befuddlement by Cowan: "But for *some reason that didn't come about.* We're very disappointed". In Cowan's simple statement, the failure of community becomes either Vander Schaaf's responsibility for not being *proud of the community that he was born and raised in*, or a strange, unexplainable anomaly. The *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* do not have to explain their own roles in determining who gets to become a storyteller, *town leaders* or *Stony Plain boosters*; their complicity in creating the slogan conflict; or, how they may be benefiting from Vander Schaaf's creative ability and adept marketing skills.[39]

Tauxe, 1998 for a discussion of local history books and concepts of community). The quote also represents the paradox that exists within the relationships between people and their communities. On one hand, it draws attention to the anonymity that both occurs within and is expected of people making Prairie community. On the other hand, the comment and the (often very long, positive, achievement-oriented) family histories represent both the achievements of founding settlers and the desire to be recognized for their contributions to settlement towns. In fact, Stony Plain's mural representations are an extension of the community building process.

[39] Remember, *Souvenir companies were asked to come in to pitch ideas* to the Stony Plain and District Chamber of Commerce. *Town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* were/are more than willing

Terry Vander Schaaf: Community as fiction

> But *Vander Schaaf refused.* He was *upset the offer was so small, but more upset about how he'd been treated.*
>
> "*No one ever said something that made me feel like I was worth something, that I had something that was worth something.* They kept saying, *'Terry this isn't worth anything. We'll get something new and better.'* No one said, *'Terry this is such a great idea. We'd hate to lose it.'"*
>
> *In the end,* he told the town if they used the slogan anywhere, even on its highway signs, *he'd sue for $5 000.* Cowan says that *she wasn't worried about being sued,* but *painted over the slogan anyway, wanting to put an end to the matter.*
>
> Recently Vander Schaaf was back in town. When he drove by the sign, *he felt sad and thought, "Gosh, I should just run and give it to them".* But he says he can't. "*There's just too much bad blood. And I just can't go and throw away $5 000*" (Staples, 1997, p. B1).

One recognises within the dynamics of the slogan conflict that the "foundation [of Stony Plain's ideal community] is a fiction" (Nancy, 1991). The popular conception of community as cohesive, harmonious and mutually beneficial erodes under the slogan conflict. But what is ironic within this conflict of community is that Terry Vander Schaaf should qualify as a very successful candidate for *town leader* and *Stony Plain booster* within Stony Plain's civic commercial elite. He believes in the myth of community and he understands the underlying economic ideology guiding community development. He understands the importance that image making plays in the making of Stony Plain's communal success. He knows how to make and tell a successful story, *Stony Plain: the town*

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to benefit or profit from Vander Schaaf's idea, and yet Vander Schaaf whose business is advertising and sign making, was expected to selflessly give for the benefit of the community.

with the painted past. He gets what is important and valued within the booster community. Yet, *the chamber rejected him* and *the Town was reluctant to pay.*

The issue of payment is an important one. Within a booster ideology that is steeped in notions of civic pride and volunteerism, Vander Schaaf's desire to be paid signifies anti-community and underlying tones of greed. Ironically, *[t]here [is] no talk of [town leader* and *Stony Plain boosters] being paid.* Any profit and economic benefits generated for *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* from *commercial goods, such as coffee cups, T-shirts and key chains* are rendered invisible within the rhetoric that *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* are selflessly devoted to community service, and whose actions are simply making Stony Plain into a "friendly and charming community" whose "residents enjoy a superior lifestyle" (Cowan, 1997). *The chamber [in] reject[ing] him* and *the Town* in *[being] reluctant to pay* also show a decided unwillingness to *all work together and [be] very, very proud* of the creative and communally beneficial work of one of its members.

By speaking of the *bad blood* that the slogan conflict has created, Vander Schaaf recognises that the "foundation" of Stony Plain's myth of community is a "fiction" (Nancy, 1991). Vander Schaaf desire to be paid *$5 000* is more than just about money. It is about validation within his (booster) community. When one considers that economic ideology drives contemporary community development, one would think that fair compensation for creative work that supports the community would be forthcoming. Vander Schaaf's frustration with the civic commercial elite reflects a disturbing recognition that even though he adheres to the values and beliefs espoused within boosterism, and that he is a capable storyteller of the myth of community, he is still alienated from it:

> He was *upset the offer was so small, but more upset about how he'd been treated.*
>
> *No one ever said something that made me feel like I was worth something, that I had something that was worth something.* They kept saying, *'Terry this isn't worth anything. We'll get something new and better.'* No one said, *'Terry this is such a great idea. We'd hate to lose it.'"* (Staples, 1997, p. B1)

Vander Schaaf's rejection[40] by *town leader* and *Stony Plain boosters* can be read as particularly troubling because his desire to be rewarded is tied to his failure as a long-time resident with deep family roots: *We hoped that he would be proud*

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[40] This example of rejection does not fully explain Vander Schaaf's rejection by *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters.* Part of what is either not recognized or ignored by *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters,* is that it is Vander Schaaf's business to advertise. Vander Schaaf's creative work as an advertiser is not recognized as a skill that is valued (financially) within this booster community. Ironically, the City of Edmonton has (as of April of 2003) paid roughly $300 000 to marketing experts to develop a new slogan and a comprehensive marketing plan for the city (O'Donnell, 2003).

In addition, Vander Schaaf's financial and social rejection by *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters,* is ironic considering the value (both social and financial) that *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* place on the creative work of Windi Scott. *[A]rtist Windi Scott['s]* willingness to travel *to the outskirts of town and [paint] over the slogan on the town sign* on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce is ironic, troubling and almost invisible as an interruption of the conception of the harmonious community. Scott is a talented artist and musician has become a local hero and key storyteller within and about as Stony Plain community and Stony Plain as bastion of rural life and values. Scott has painted three of Stony Plain's murals: *Making a friend* (1991); *The connection: 1906-1963* (1991); and, *Goods in kind (1991).* Scott was commissioned to paint (and then paint over) the two *Welcome to Stony Plain, "The town with the painted past"* signs located on High ways 16A East and West; as well, Scott is on retainer to do any repair work the murals may need. Scott's artistic commissions include ink-based drawings of well-known (local) Cowboy Poets and rural artists. These drawings are then used to advertise Stony Plain's annual Cowboy Poetry and Music Festival. As a result of her mural and Cowboy Poetry work, been commissioned to do murals for local businesses (see www.selmacsales.com/news.htm). Hanson's rural-themed music has been featured prominently at Stony Plain's Cowboy Poetry and Music Festival. The difference for Vander Schaaf is that Scott and her work get taken up as valuable contributions to the community, where as Vander Schaaf and his creative work are not.

of the community that he was born and raised in. Vander Schaaf is *upset* because the community he thought he knew, believed in and valued become a lie. In that recognition of the "foundation as fiction" (Nancy, 1991), Vander Schaaf resisted. He did what a 'good' citizen, who was *born and raised in* Stony Plain would not/should not have done. Vander Schaaf broke the communal bond by revealing to an outsider (David Staples) that the "foundation is a fiction". Vander Schaaf told Staples *a story that we [would not] like to have in our community,* and told Staples that *the people in this community [are not] all work[ing] together and [are not being] very, very proud of what we have.* As a strong act of resistance toward the community that had failed for him, Vander Schaaf threatened litigation: he told the town if they used the slogan anywhere, even on its highway signs, *he'd sue for $5 000.* However, *[i]n the end,* the desire for Vander Schaaf to maintain the myth of community and re-establish the foundation of community is still a strong impulse: [r]ecently Vander Schaaf was back in town. When he drove by the sign, *he felt sad and thought, "Gosh, I should just run and give it to them".*

Myth of Community reasserted: Is there a solution here?

> *Is there a solution here? Yes, a simple one.* Vander Schaaf should fire off a letter to Cowan today telling her the town and anyone else can use the slogan for free. Talking to him, it's clear that the whole matter has taken away some of his peace of mind, which is worth more that $5,000. Besides, if he gives back the slogan, the goodwill down the road might earn him far more than $5,000.
>
> *As for the town, when Windi Scott paints the slogan back up on the sign, she should also paint a friendly welcoming face saying the slogan. And that face should be Terry Vander Schaaf's* (Staples, 1997, p. B1).

Barthes (1972) suggests, "mythology *harmonizes* with the world, not as it is, but as it wants to create itself" (p. 156, emphasis in original); and, that to recognize the "distortion" in myth and to critique it is to cut oneself off from others. *In the end*, the myth of community, the desire to be in community, and the desire for harmony are strong. David Staples (1997), as storyteller, writes a morality play that, if implemented, will reconcile the community. He is inspired by romanticism, "the invention of the scene of the founding myth, … the simultaneous awareness of the loss of power of the myth, and as the desire or the will to regain this living power of the origin and, at the same time, the origin of this power" (Nancy, 1991, p. 45). He finds *a simple solution* to Stony Plain's slogan conflict, and the reconciliation of its community.

First, Staples tells [t]he last act of a *sorry, small-town tale*. He exposes the failures of community that occurred through the slogan contest. The failure of Vander Schaaf to give the slogan to the town for the betterment of the community, and the failure of *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* to recognise and support one of their own. Then Staples iterates the *simple solution* that will see a communion (Nancy, 1991) of the individual with the community. In fact, Staples suggests that a community-inspired resolution to the slogan conflict could create bigger and better opportunities for everyone involved:

> Vander Schaaf should fire off a letter to Cowan today telling her the town and anyone else can use the slogan for free. Talking to him, it's clear that the whole matter has taken away some of his peace of mind, which is worth more that $5,000. Besides, if he gives back the slogan, the goodwill down the road might earn him far more than $5,000 (Staples, 1997, p. B1).

Finally, Staples completes the reconciliation by painting a celebratory version of the welcome sign. Windi Scott could paint a new version of Stony Plain's welcome sign celebrating Terry Vander Schaaf's contribution to the community by Vander Schaaf's *friendly welcoming face saying the slogan.* It is this *simple solution* that would resolve the *squabble*, benefit the whole community and return the community to its *special* status. I*n the end*, the moral of Staples' story of community is: *the people in this community all work together and are very, very proud of what [they] have*, and therefore, do not jeopardize the harmony, goodwill and friendliness of community over a slogan *squabble* and $5,000.

Epilogue: *In the end*[41]...

Town leaders and *Stony Plain boosters*: *Is there a solution here?*

The story about how Stony Plain got back its slogan, "The town with a[42] painted past" solves Stony Plain's lack of slogan for tourism promotion. However, the Town's solution was not *a simple one* and instead represents a troubling reminder of how "myth is bound up with the use of its power" (Nancy, 1991, p. 46), and how much of the onus for reunion within interrupted myths of community lies with the dissenting element (in this case, Terry Vander Schaaf).

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[41] I purposely reiterate the phrase, "*In the end*" because in many ways there has not been and likely will not be one final end/solution (simple or otherwise) to the slogan conflict. What follows in the next section, are some of the not so simple solutions, which continue to create tension within the conception of community.

[42] Terry Vander Schaaf's slogan was "The town with the painted past", while the new slogan has been written in two ways. One version of the slogan is exactly the same, "the town with the painted past". The slogan also appears in a version that substitutes "a" for "the", "the town with a

In June 2002 the Town of Stony Plain's economic development and tourism task force, "made up of members of the public, town administrators and councillors" (Mah, 2002, p. B1), held a public contest aimed at getting Stony Plain a new slogan. One hundred and seventeen people submitted slogans to the contest. Although there were many different new slogans offered in the submissions, the task force "unanimously selected *The town with a painted past*" (*Home Town Living*, 2002, p. 2). According to the contest rules,[43] a draw was required to determine the slogan contest winner, since there were duplicate submissions of the new slogan (Mah, 2003, p. B1). Alice Markland won the slogan contest. A *Stony Plain Reporter* photograph (Sinclair, 2002, p. A17) commemorated the win. Set against the mural "Morning Light"[44] (Figure 2-11) with a tagline stating, "Everything old is new again", a smiling Mayor Cowan shakes hands and exchanges a certificate with an equally jubilant Alice Markland. As part of her prize package, Markland received a certificate, a mural print and a one hundred dollar gift certificate for town promotional merchandise (sweatshirts, golf shirts, mural prints and fleece vests) (*Home Town Living*, 2002, p. 2).

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painted past". Perhaps, given the slogan conflict, the version that changes the slogan to imply that Stony Plain has "a painted past" is a propos.

[43] The contest rules that were published in the Town of Stony Plain section of the *Stony Plain Reporter*, also included rules that submissions became the property of the Town of Stony Plain, and that submitters forfeit all future rights to the slogan.

[44] The mural "Morning light" (Stan Phelps, 1991) was destroyed by the Town of Stony Plain, after the town started construction on its new town hall. The mural "Many faces, one heart" (Tim Heimdal, 1991) will be destroyed for the same reason in the late summer, 2002.

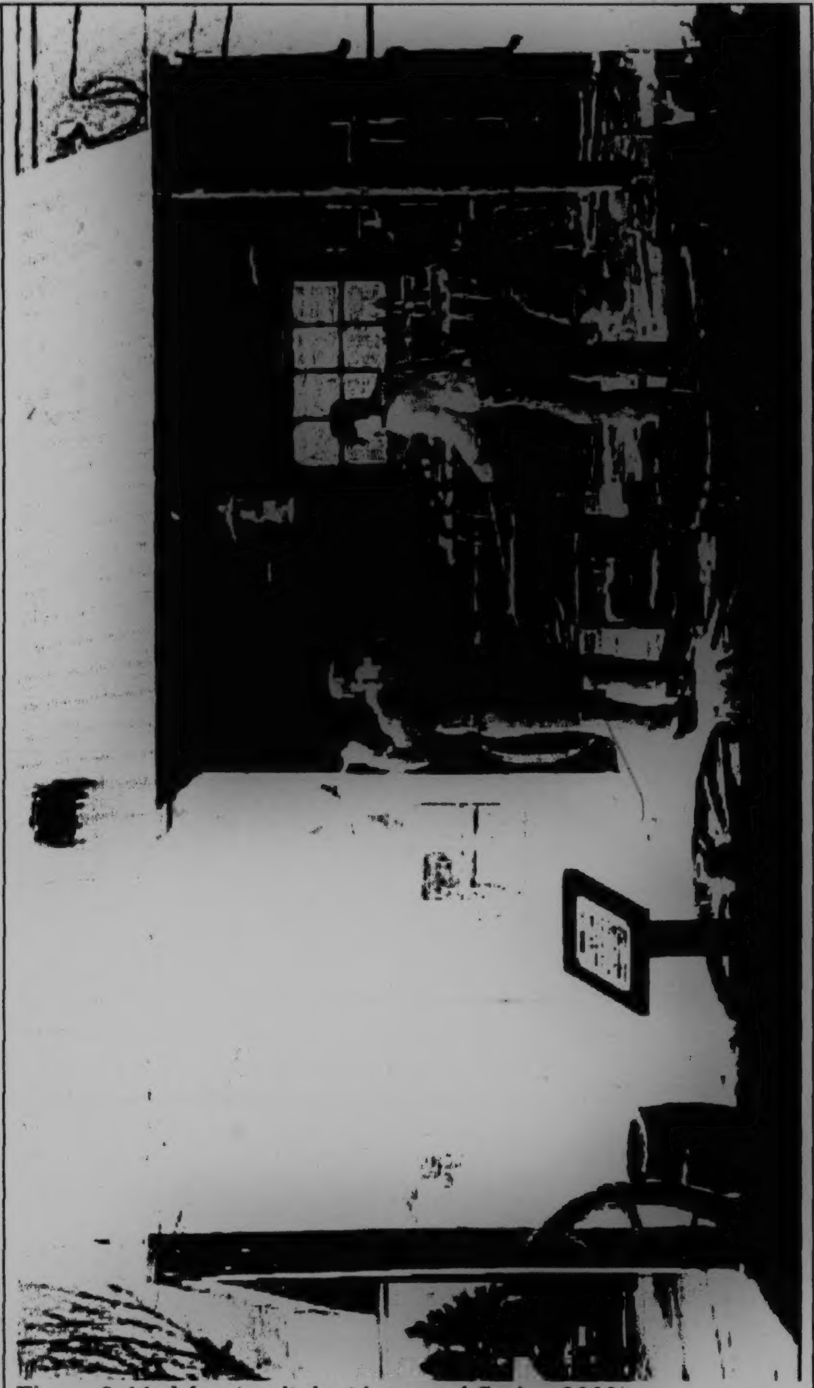

Figure 2-11. *Morning light.* (destroyed Spring 2003)

"If it ain't broke": Maintaining the myth of community

The results of the slogan contest appeared in four different articles[45] and, for the most part, were celebratory stories that affirmed the appropriateness of the slogan for Stony Plain and reaffirmed Stony Plain as an ideal community. For example, a brief comment in the *Edmonton Journal* stated "if it ain't broke…"[46] and proceeded to describe the contest and the appropriateness of the slogan for Stony Plain, given the town's mural program:

> When Stony Plain decided to hold a contest asking resident to come up with a new slogan for the town, they found out that newer wasn't necessarily better. After sorting through 117 entries, the panel took resident Alice Markland's suggestion, who declared that the town's current motto –"the town with a painted past" –described the community quite nicely, thank you very much.
>
> We're [author of the article] with her, especially when you figure that 21 life-size murals now decorate the town, the product of the town's decision in 1990 to recreate its history through murals (Hall, 2002, p. B2).

In the end...Inoculation

In the end, the slogan's value in creating the image and the myth of Stony Plain as ideal community remains relatively intact. The slogan conflict between Terry Vander Schaaf and *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* inoculated (Barthes, 1972) the community and limited the general subversive qualities that might have emerged out of the conflict and the (re)surfacing of the old/new slogan. Inoculation is one of seven rhetorical devices through which "mythical signifiers arrange themselves" (p. 150). Inoculation, on the one hand admits to the "accidental evil of class-bound institutions" but on the other hand better "conceal[s] its pincipial (sic) evil" (Barthes, 1972, p. 150). In the aftermath of the slogan conflict, inoculation occurs in two significant ways.

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[45] These four articles do not include the slogan first significant public use. "The town with the painted past" appeared in a regional advertising/economic outlook series in the *Edmonton Journal*.

[46] Hopefully, the irony of this statement "if it ain't broken" is not lost on the reader, given the history of slogan conflict and its interruption of Stony Plain's myth of community.

The first instance of inoculation was that *there was no talk of him [Terry Vander Schaaf]* or of the *story that we [would not] like to have in our community* in any of the articles. There were however, some important allusions to the slogan conflict that while casting a slight shadow on Stony Plain's (myth of) community, were easily subverted by the kind of *talk* that did emerge. All of the articles indicated an ironic relationship between the old slogan and the new slogan being the same. However, the irony did not belie the roots of the slogan conflict between Terry Vander Schaaf and *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters*. Maria Crump, Stony Plain's manager of economic development and tourism and slogan contest judge tried to dismiss the ironic relationship between the old slogan and new slogan. Crump maintained, "The intent wasn't to choose the same slogan but to get the public involved in the process" but, "[t]hey [the task force] kept coming down to that one that seemed the most appropriate. Out of all the entries that were received, that one, as a task force judge (herself), fit best for Stony Plain" (Mah, 2002, p. B1). The allusion to the old/new relationship within the articles admits that a tension exists around the slogan story; however, the acceptance of the appropriateness of the new slogan to represent the community hides the kinds of conflicts that do challenge conceptions of community and appropriate public interactions.

The second instance where inoculation is evident involves a *Stony Plain Reporter* editorial (2002). The editorial did criticize the privilege that *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* had in community decision-making processes. The main thrust of the editorial was to suggest that most attempts by government at "public consultation" were comprised of "token gesture[s]"(p.6). The editor used the slogan contest as an example (although, "pretty harmless" example) of the dubious nature of most governmental attempts at public consultation in determining courses of action for community building:

> Sometimes when little things go awry, those involved don't think a big deal should be made of the situation.
>
> Granted, the contest to come up with a new slogan for the Town of Stony Plain was pretty harmless.
>
> In what was supposed to be a fun little exercise in PR, Stony residents this summer were given a shot at coming up with a phrase or saying that sticks to Stony Plain like mural paint to walls.
>
> Residents responded, submitting 117 possible new slogans for the town. However, this week the town decided that its new slogan would be its old one, opting not to pick any of the new suggestions gathered during the contest.
>
> Not, a big deal, right?
>
> But at its heart, the contest was a waste of time for everyone involved. Even worse, it gives Stony Plain citizens the perceptions that public feedback is always welcome, but when it's decision time, that feedback does not get taken into consideration by those in charge (Editorial, 2002, p.6).

The editorial comments are an interesting and ironic epilogue to the 1997 slogan conflict and a significant example of Barthes (1972) notion of inoculation. At the peak of conflict in 1997, the *Stony Plain Reporter* took what could be inferred as a decidedly booster stance around the conflict. The *Stony Plain Reporter* did not openly support the *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters'* slogan position, nor did they condemn Vander Schaaf's desire to be paid for the slogan or to be paid royalties for the slogan's use. Instead, the newspaper did not cover the story in any meaningful detail. A small mention about Stony Plain "drop[ping]" the slogan in order to "side step a potentially messy copyright dispute" (Gossen, 1997, p. A1). The article, instead, focussed the Stony Plain launching a "new" corporate identity program that would see the use of the colour green on town signage and a "lamppost and a bench logo become part of …official communication[s]" (p. A1). The silence of the *Stony Plain Reporter* around the context and complexity of the initial conflict might be read as a booster-inspired political act.[47] The newspaper's silence in 1997 helped to maintain the image of Stony Plain as a *community [where the people] all work together and are very, very proud of what we have.* The initial slogan conflict between Vander Schaaf and *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* was a significant opportunity to ask important questions about the formations of community; the role of public process in community building; the role of social and economic privilege within community development; and about the conditions under which public input is either taken seriously or is constrained.

The editorial (2002) does use the slogan contest as an opportunity for critical social dialogue[48]. It points out the privilege of "those in charge" (*town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters*) over most "Stony Plain citizens" (people like

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[47] See Wetherell & Kmet (1995) for a discussion about the relationship between small town newspapers and boosterism.

Vander Schaaf and the one hundred and seventeen contest entrants). The contest editorial acknowledged the often-uncompromising decision making power that *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* have in determining the direction of the town's development and what is to count as acceptable communal social and economic practices. The acknowledgment that *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* are unwilling to listen to different ideas and invoke their social and economic privilege functions in an interesting way. While it calls attention to the inequity, it also undercuts many of the challenges that could potentially be made to the authority of *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters*. *In the end*, one may recognise the privilege held and wielded by *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters*, but in that recognition one assumes that one's input will not be "taken seriously"(Editorial, 2002, p. A6).

In the end... Privation of history

In the end, Cowan says that *she wasn't worried about being sued*, but *painted over the slogan anyway, wanting to put an end to the matter*. In August 2002, a small regional newsletter printed the results of Stony Plain's slogan contest. However, in addition to the results of the contest, the article exposed the social and economic power of *town leaders* and *Stony Plain boosters* and why they were not *worried about being sued* for the re-activation of "the town with the painted past":

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[48] The 2002contest pales as an example of opportunity to engage in critical social commentary in comparison to the (missed) opportunity presented by the 1997 slogan conflict.

> "The town had previously utilized this slogan, however circumstances of its initial adoption prevented unencumbered use for marketing and promotional purposes," the press release further stated.
>
> "A process has been established, in conjunction with legal consultation, to enable the slogan to become a registered trademark of the Town of Stony Plain. This entitles the municipality to exclusive rights of the slogan for all marketing and promotional purposes" (*Home Town Living*, 2002, p.2).

Although, the article mentions that the slogan had been utilised in the past and emphasised Stony Plain's legal entitlement to the slogan, *there was [still] no talk of him [Terry Vander Schaaf]* or of the *story that we [would not] like to have in our community.*

In the end, the lack of *talk* about the slogan conflict (1997) and Terry Vander Schaaf during the slogan contest (2002) represents a "privation of history" (Barthes, 1972, p. 151). Barthes posited "the privation of history" as another one of the rhetorical devices through which mythic signifiers are arranged. It is through the privation of history, that myth is naturalized and eternalised:

> Myth deprives the object of which it speaks of all History. In it, history evaporates. It is a kind of ideal servant: it prepares all things, brings them, lays them out, the master arrives, it silently disappears: all that is left for one to do is to enjoy this beautiful object without wondering where it came from. Or even better: it came from eternity… (Barthes, 1972, p. 151).

By not speaking of the 1997 slogan conflict or Terry Vander Schaaf's claim to the old slogan, the new slogan becomes timeless and uncontested; and, the slogan's creative capacity to signify Stony Plain as the ideal community is reinstated:

> "Use of *The Town with the Painted Past* slogan will begin immediately" (*Home Town Living*, 2002, p.2).

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Paper #2

Making the tourist community: Ethical incompleteness, governmentality and violence

Introduction

In the late 1970s, tourism was becoming recognised as a "major economic force in the global marketplace" (Alberta Tourism, 1991, p. 1). Indeed, by the early 1980s, motivated by a slumping resource based economy, the Alberta government wanted: "tourism [to] become a cornerstone of the province's economy and contribute to economic diversification and employment while providing responsible management of financial, human and natural resources" (p. 1)[1]. In the mid-1980s, the Town of Stony Plain[2], Alberta faced its own economic and social challenges. Inspired by the promise of economic prosperity and community stability offered by tourism endeavours, and motivated by Provincial government policy and funding initiatives, Stony Plain began to aggressively pursue heritage-based tourism and complementary forms of community development.

Indeed, since the mid-1980s, Stony Plain has transformed as a result of heritage-based tourism. The town has gone from having one museum, the Multicultural Heritage Centre (Figure 3-1), and one annual festival weekend, the Farmer's Day Parade and Exhibition, to become a "heritage community" with an extensive heritage, tourism and festival infrastructure. Stony Plain currently (as of 2003) has five museums/heritage sites: the Multicultural Heritage Centre,

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[1] For example, Alberta's tourism marketing goals were to increase annual tourism revenue from $2.6 billion per year in 1990 to $4.39 billion per year by December of 1996 (Alberta Government 1992).

[2] Stony Plain is a community that is made up of diverse interests, but when I speak of Stony Plain in relation to tourism and community development, I speak of a "Stony Plain" that is dominated by municipal government, the Chamber of Conference, and various service and heritage organizations. Please see: *Sorry Small Town Tales: Writing/Painting, Reading, Interrupting Community* for a detailed discussion of the problem of a universal "we"/"us" within mythic representations of Stony Plain.

Oppersthauser House (Figure 3-2), Parkland Demonstration Farm (Figure 3-3)[3], Pioneer and District Museum (Figure 3-4)[4], and the Outdoor Gallery (Figure 3-5)[5]. In conjunction with the extensive museum based infrastructure, several organizations within Stony Plain[6] contributed to the development of other sites and tourist venues; as well as, the development of infrastructure to link sites and venues together. For example: The Stony Plain and District Chamber of Commerce built its new (2000) office space to resemble a 1920s replica Train Station. The Chamber of Commerce called the new office building Dog Rump Creek[7] Station (Figure 3-6), and offered to house Stony Plain's tourist information office within the Station. Dog Rump Creek Station is located in Rotary Park (Figure 3-7) a local day park that was developed by Stony Plain's local chapter of the Rotary Club service organization. The Town of Stony Plain (the municipality) also has a publicly accessible Japanese garden, Shikaoi Park (Figure 3-8) located next to the Town Hall. In 1985, the Town received the garden as a gift from the city of Shikaoi, Japan. The garden commemorates the initial inception of Stony Plain's cultural and economic twinning and ongoing exchange[8] with the Japanese city.

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[3] The MHC was created in 1974 when the Heritage Agricultural Society intervened and saved Stony Plain's Old Brick School (built 1925) from destruction (see figure 1). The Heritage Agricultural Society is "dedicated to the preservation of regional cultural heritage" (Multicultural Heritage Centre, 1998, p. 2). The Multicultural Heritage Centre offers several programmes based on pioneer life. The building houses a homesteader's cabin, an archive, a public gallery and a multicultural-themed gift shop. Oppertshauser House and the Parkland Demonstration Farm are affiliated with the Heritage Agricultural Society. Oppertshauser House, built in 1910, is an architecturally unique home (due to roof design and early wheelchair access). It is used to interpret urban elements of local heritage, and houses the Heritage Agricultural Society gift shop. The Parkland Demonstration Farm is located south of Oppertshauser House. The farm consists of 5acres of land and the former elementary school. As well, this 5-acre parcel is all that is left of what was once a large Provincial Demonstration Farms (c. 1912) (see figure 3). The Parkland Demonstration Farm is operated through the Heritage Agricultural Society and has a mandate of educating and presenting contemporary farming practices, as well as building community awareness of the importance of agriculture (Multicultural Heritage Centre, 2001).

[4] The Pioneer and District Museum Association was incorporated as a non-profit society in 1992, and opened its museum proper in 1994. The museum is housed in several settlement period buildings located on the Stony Plain Exhibition Grounds. The mandate of the museum is "for the preservation of Stony Plain and Districts HERITAGE …through our forefather's Artefacts" (Stony Plain Pioneer Museum, 1994, emphasis in original).

[5] The Outdoor Gallery began in 1990 and is comprised of a series of heritage-themed public art. The gallery is located in the old downtown core of Stony Plain. Murals and sculptures depict "the people and events from Stony Plain's colourful past" (Multicultural Heritage Centre, 2001, p. 4). The Outdoor Gallery is the product of the Community Tourism Action Plan initiative and plays a significant role in the making and representation of Stony Plain's community. I discuss this in greater detail later.

[6] Some of these organizations/partnerships include: The Town of Stony Plain, the Heritage Agricultural Society, the Pioneer Museum, the Stony Plain and District Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club and so forth.

[7] Stony Plain's original (that is, first English-based name) was Dog Rump Creek. The name was derived from the Cree name Atim Ozwe Sipi (Dog Creek, or Dog Rump Creek) (Rutter, 1999). Interestingly, the name "Stony Plain" was first attached to another nearby district (now known as Spruce Grove). The good folk from Dog Rump Creek, thinking the name was unsuitable for attracting potential growth, took the name Stony Plain from their neighbours. However, contemporary tourism marketing makes the name 'Dog Rump Creek' a potentially useful

In 1986, as part of a downtown rejuvenation program, the Town of Stony Plain implemented a Business Zone Revitalization tax. The Tax, along with funding secured from downtown businesses,[9] was used to renovate and beautify the physical infrastructure of downtown Stony Plain. The municipal government used the money to renovate streets, sidewalks and boulevards within the downtown core. The streetscapes were renovated to reflect a Victorian street image. While the municipal government was responsible for renovating streets, sidewalks and boulevards downtown businesses were responsible for renovations of building façades to reflect a 1920s Prairie agricultural motif.[10] Indeed, the Main Street rejuvenation programme has been so widely embraced that businesses voluntarily

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commodity, thus the resurrection of the name and its attachment to the Chamber of Commerce building.

[8] The twinning of Japanese municipalities with Alberta municipalities was an economic/cultural initiative strategy promoted by the Alberta and Japanese governments. See: Town of Stony Plain, 2000 for a comprehensive discussion of the twinning process.

[9] Businesses located within a specific downtown region automatically became members of the Heart of Town Association. The Heart of Town Association dissolved in August 2003 as a result of apathy and continued difficulties that businesses (especially retail businesses) have at being economically viable within Stony Plain's downtown core. I discuss the implications, of the ongoing difficulties facing Main Street businesses and the inability of tourism to solve Main Street's business viability problems in a later section.

[10] See: figures 2-2 and 2-3 in Specht, 2004.

design new buildings (that are erected within the downtown core) to reflect the 1920s street theme (Figures 3-9 and 3-10). The Municipality also worked to make Stony Plain's heritage sites, tourist attractions and infrastructure easily recognizable via uniform signage (Figure 3-11)[11] and a comprehensive, easily accessible road and trail system.

The Town and its partners, as part of Stony Plain's overall tourism strategy, engaged in the development of annual tourism-based festivals and events and/or, lobbied organizations to bring their festivals or events to Stony Plain. Stony Plain is now home to the following annual events: the Farmer's Day, Kinsmen Rodeo, Main Street Garage Sale, Great White North Triathlon, Blueberry Bluegrass and Country Music Festival, and the Cowboy Poetry and Country Music Festival.[12] In affiliation with the aforementioned heritage-based sites and the annual events and festivals, Stony Plain participates in three, nationally recognized community beautification programmes.[13] The three programmes help to bolster Stony Plain's public image (as beautiful, safe, family-oriented and successful), encourages civic pride and loyalty, and supplement the town's overall tourism and community development goals. *Pitch-In Canada Week* encourages citizens to pick litter and tidy up the Stony Plain's public spaces, and to remove toxic household wastes and garbage from private homes and yards[14]. *Winter Lights* is a programme that encourages home and business owners to beautify the town's winter nightscape through decorative and festive lighting. The third program is *Communities in Bloom*, a community beautification through gardening competition. In 2000, in Stony Plain's third attempt, the Town won the coveted "five bloom award" (Figure 3-12) as National Champion for towns with a population of under 10 000 people.

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[11] The municipal signage bi-law dictates that all Town sponsored signs conform to a particular format. Signs are to be constructed as follows: frame, forest green, timber; text, forest green; background, pastel green. Signs on municipal structures also include a photograph of a thematically correct heritage building. For example, the sign located on the contemporary Stony Plain Fire Hall shows a picture of a former Stony Plain Fire Hall. In conjunction with uniformed signage bi-laws, the Town also has strict business signage bi-laws aimed at maintaining the integrity of the mural programme and preventing mural-like advertising.

[12] In 2000, Dianne Harlton (Stony Plain's tourism and marketing co-ordinator) claimed there were 25 major annual events in Stony Plain (Cathie Bartlet, 2000, p. J2).

[13] Please see: http://www.communitiesinbloom.ca and http://www.winterlights.ca and http://www.pitch-in.ca

The physical transformation of Stony Plain via tourism development is evident within the preceding descriptions. What is not so visible however is the social effect that tourism-based community development has had on the residents of Stony Plain. *Communities in Bloom* Judge Margaret Howe's comments offer valuable insight into the social effects of tourism development within Stony Plain's conception of community. Judge Howe was asked to provide an evaluation of Stony Plain's 2000 National Championship bid:

> "*Communities in Bloom* is more than just flowers," she pointed out. It goes to the heart and soul of a community.
>
> Howe said she realizes Stony Plain was disappointed not to win the national competition in its previous attempts but she feels the result is that the town has "extra depth" and an "enhanced program" this year.
>
> She is now convinced [that] attempts to beautify the town are not just for show. *Communities in Bloom* has become a way of life.
>
> "Stony Plain has wonderful streetscape appeal," she noted. "Visitors don't have to visit backyards to see that the town is a wonderful place in which to live."
>
> She commented on meeting 87 year-old Mary Radcliffe, who is still gardening, and on the involvement of people of all ages in *Communities in Bloom.*
>
> "Everything is very high quality –just a first class operation" (Gossen, 2000a, p. A3).

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[14] In December 2003, Stony Plain won National Silver Award for environmental responsibility and civic pride award from Pitch-In Canada (Holubitsky, 2003, p. B3).

Howe interpreted Stony Plain's early attempts at community development and beautification as purely about making Stony Plain a visible spectacle, or a tourist site/sight. Stony Plain's initial visible/physical transformation, she alludes, was merely the Town engaging in tourism development "just for show". [15] Howe, however, read Stony Plain's 2000 *Communities in Bloom* National Championship campaign quite differently. After approximately fifteen years (1985-2000) of extensive heritage tourism development and five years (1995-2000) of *Communities in Bloom* participation and competition, Howe was finally[16] convinced of Stony Plain's sincere/authentic transformation into a successful, wholesome, engaged and beautiful community. Stony Plain's heritage-based tourism/community development programmes had worked on and within Stony Plain's population. Stony Plain had become "more than just flowers" and more than just "appealing streetscapes". Stony Plain had developed a "heart and soul". It had become a real community where caring, active, engaged citizenship had "become a way of life" for Stony Plain's town's people.

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[15] In 1995 (*Communities in Bloom*'s first year), Stony Plain placed second in the National Competition category and received special mention for "integrating road signage into the environment" (Town of Stony Plain, 2003). In 1997, Stony Plain entered and won the Provincial Competition, the "Four Bloom" award. The Provincial award allowed Stony Plain to participate in the National competition again. In 1998, Stony Plain entered the National competition again, and placed second again. The town did receive special mention for its floral displays. In 2000, Stony Plain entered the National competition for a third time. This time Stony Plain was determined to win, and launched a wide-scale, community mobilizing effort to transform the town into a clean, tidy, garden paradise. Stony Plain was successful and won the coveted National Championship, "Five Bloom" award. During the National Championship campaign, Stony Plain was singled out by *Communities in Bloom* judges for its community involvement programmes, "Bloomin' Proud" and "Helping Hands". Stony Plain's followed up its 2000 National Championship win, by accepting an invitation to take part in the *Communities in Bloom* International Challenge. In the International Challenge a community (e.g. Stony Plain) "is partnered with another International Community in order to mentor the program, establish information and cultural exchanges. Stony Plain [was] partnered with Higashikagura, Japan" (Town of Stony Plain, 2003).

[16] Howe was one of the *Communities in Bloom* judges who evaluated Stony Plain during all of the Town's previous attempts to secure National Championship standing.

In this paper, I explore the making of contemporary Stony Plain's "way of life" through tourism-based community development. In particular, I examine how Stony Plain's public was/is changed and formed through tourism driven community development initiatives and public policy. I argue that the making of and, particularly, the success of Stony Plain as a good community, a popular tourist attraction, thriving heritage town and eventual *Communities in Bloom* National Champion is largely dependent upon the production of a particular type of citizen/subject (Foucault, 1991; Miller, 1993). This is a citizen/subject who identifies with popular concepts of community, civic engagement, place aesthetic/environmental beauty, and particular notions of economic viability and success. I also argue that the making of good (tourist) communities (like, Stony Plain), are problematic and potentially violent[17] social processes. While, the making of tourist towns (like, Stony Plain) potentially create viable, valuable and beautiful, heritage-based tourism venues, appealing public space, actively engaged citizens, and a sense of community; the tourism/community development process can create, for some, situations of constriction, limit, shame, anxiety, frustration, failure, alienation and an inability to live up to the expectations of (the) community.

The paper is divided into three sections. In the first section, *The selfless citizen/subject: Ethical Incompleteness, community and heritage*, I use the work of Toby Miller (1993) and Michel Foucault (1991) as an explanatory framework to discuss how Stony Plain residents come to ethically identify with particular notions of community, heritage, interdependence, self-help and security in tourism based community development, and then come to manage themselves through this ethical identification. In particular, I explain how these qualities come to serve as problems of ethical incompleteness that can be worked on within tourism and community development discourses. The identification of community and heritage are important because they become targets for both self-identification and self-work within Stony Plain's tourism ambitions. Discourses of traditional community and heritage become foundational forces that drive tourism-based development and come to limit what is to be intelligible as community.

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[17] I do not use the term 'violent' to mean strictly physical violence. Instead, I am interested how violence might manifest in some of its more complex and subtle forms (as coercion, complicity, persuasion, limit, burden and so forth). I discuss violence in more detail in the final section of this paper.

In the second section, "*Participation! Do it for Stony Plain"*[18]*: Establishing the preferred future,*[19] I use Foucault's conceptualization of governmentality (1991) to explore how Stony Plain residents are trained to become responsible, useful, engaged citizens of a heritage tourism town. I examine how the discourses of traditional community and heritage are mobilized to normalize neo-conservative, self-help centred visions of community/economic development. Specifically, I explain how Stony Plain's "inside-out" (Day, 1999) community development model operates to define community and align private and public concern through heritage-based tourism.

Finally, in *Bloomin' Proud: Violence, rationality, constraint, and freedom?*, I use Stony Plain's *Communities in Bloom* participation and 2000 National

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[18] "Participation! Do it for Stony Plain" is a slogan that accompanied the Stony Plain municipal affairs/civic information section of Stony Plain's local newspaper, *The Stony Plain Reporter*.
[19] I reworked Barry Day's (1999) subheading from a community development presentation, "Establishing a vision (preferred future) into the subtitle: "Establishing the preferred future". Barry Day is a community development consultant with "Life Role Development Group". He was also a Stony Plain Town Counsellor and Chairperson of the Mayor's Task Force on Economic Development during Stony Plain's transition into heritage town.

Championship to speak to the possibility of violence within tourism driven community development.

Figure 3-1. Multicultural Heritage Centre

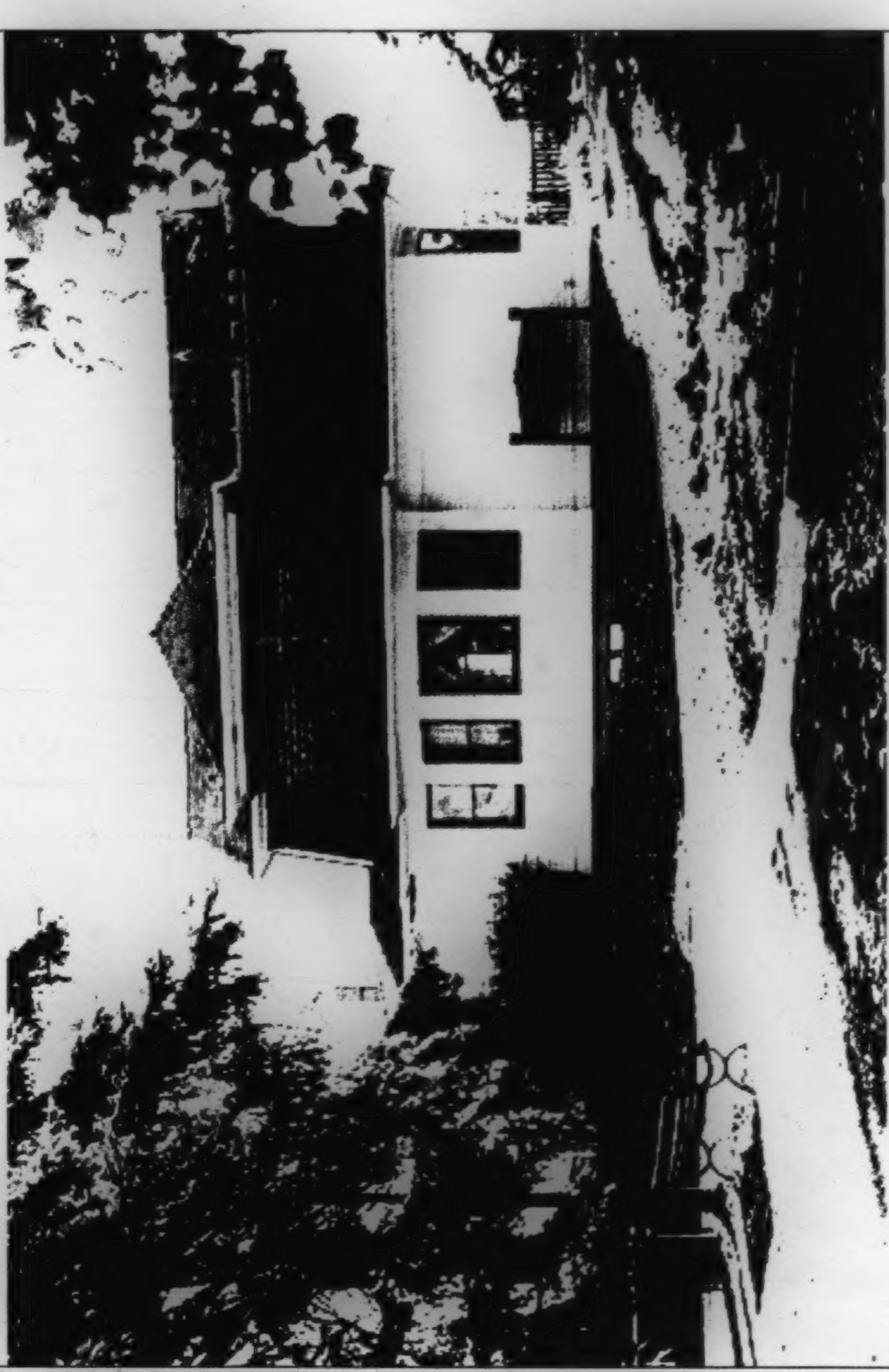

Figure 3-2. Oppertshauser House

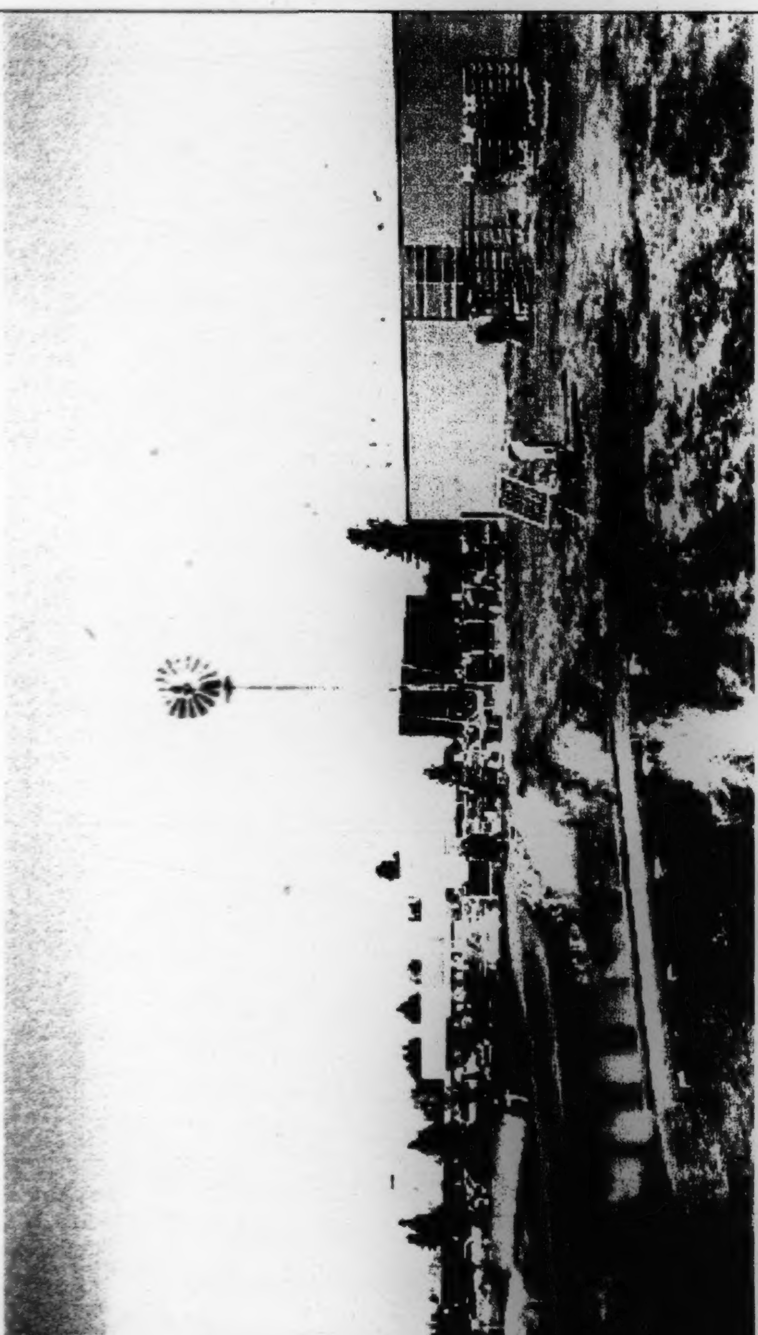

Figure 3-3. Parkland Demonstration Farm

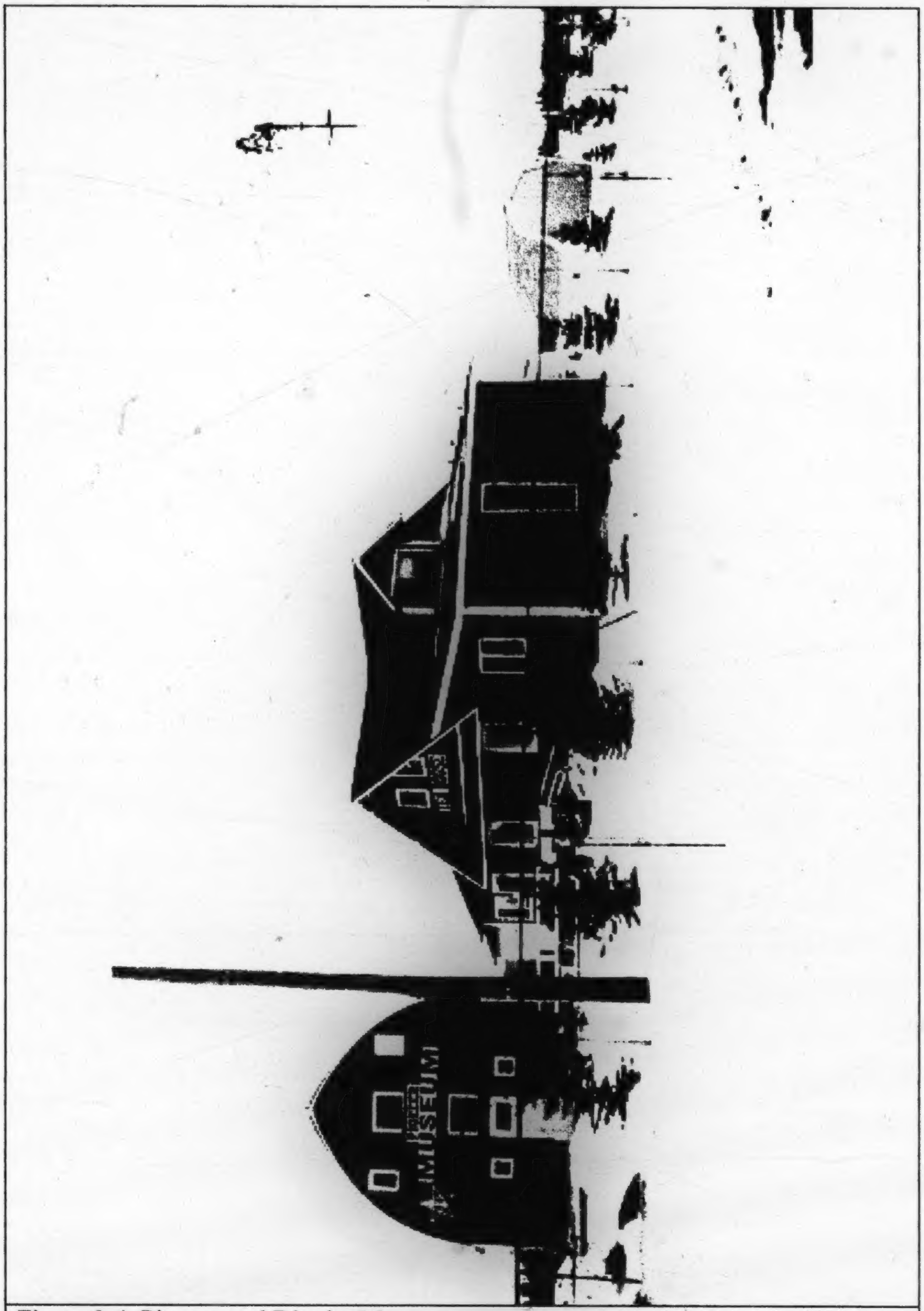

Figure 3-4. Pioneer and District Museum

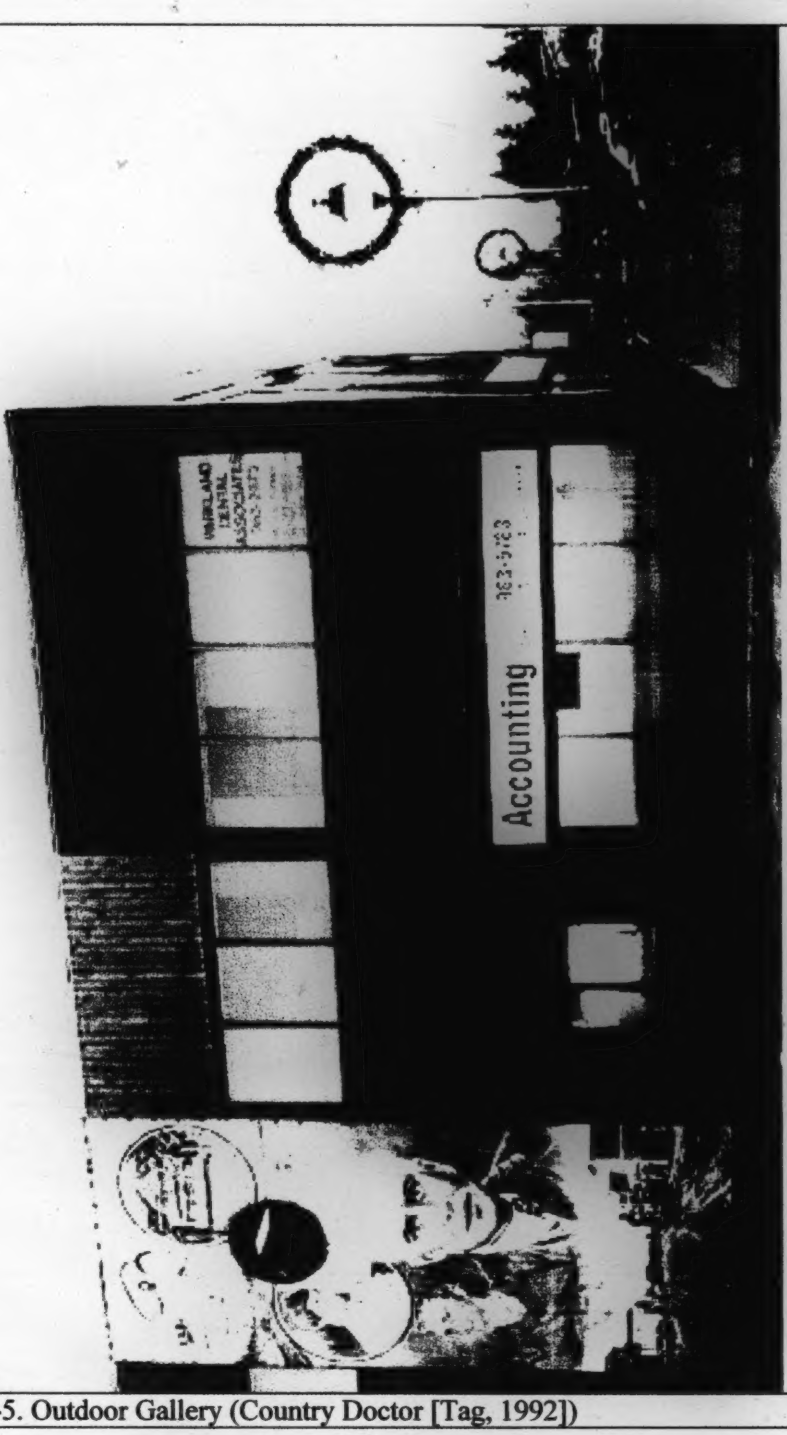

Figure 3-5. Outdoor Gallery (Country Doctor [Tag, 1992])

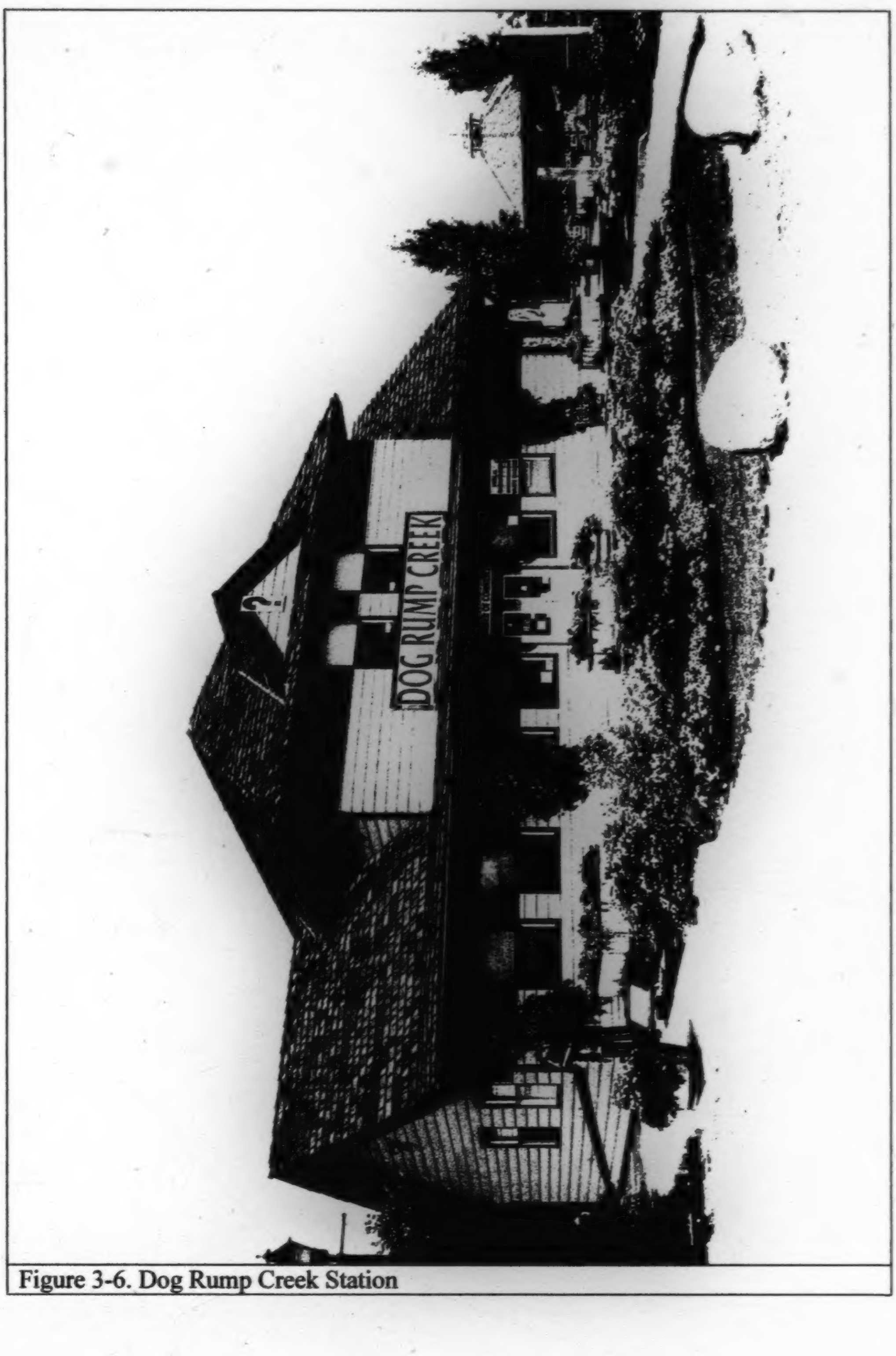

Figure 3-6. Dog Rump Creek Station

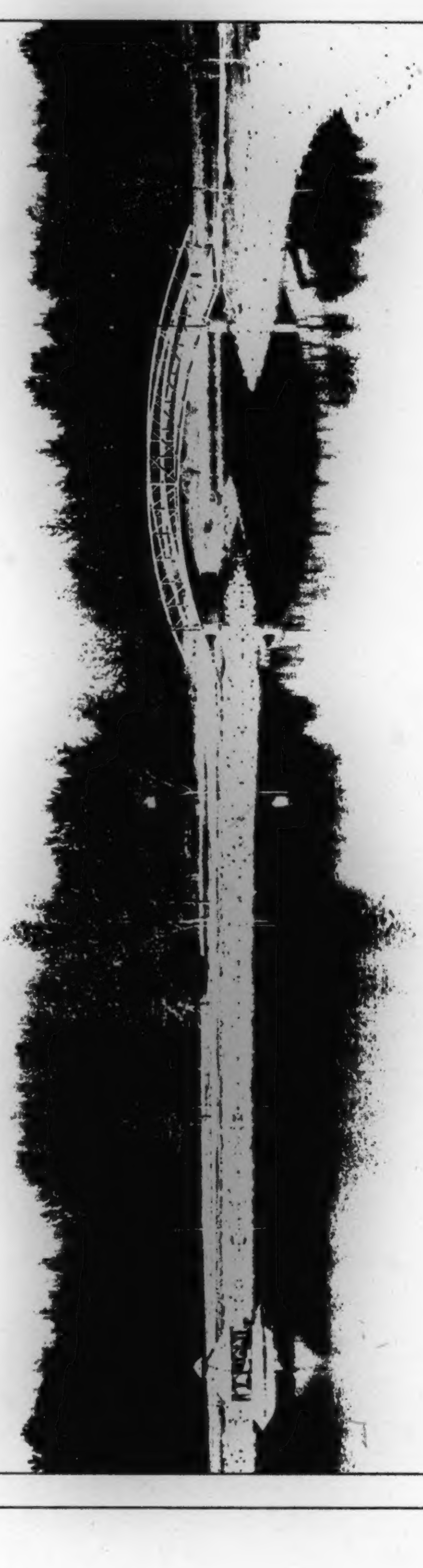

Figure 3-7. Rotary Park

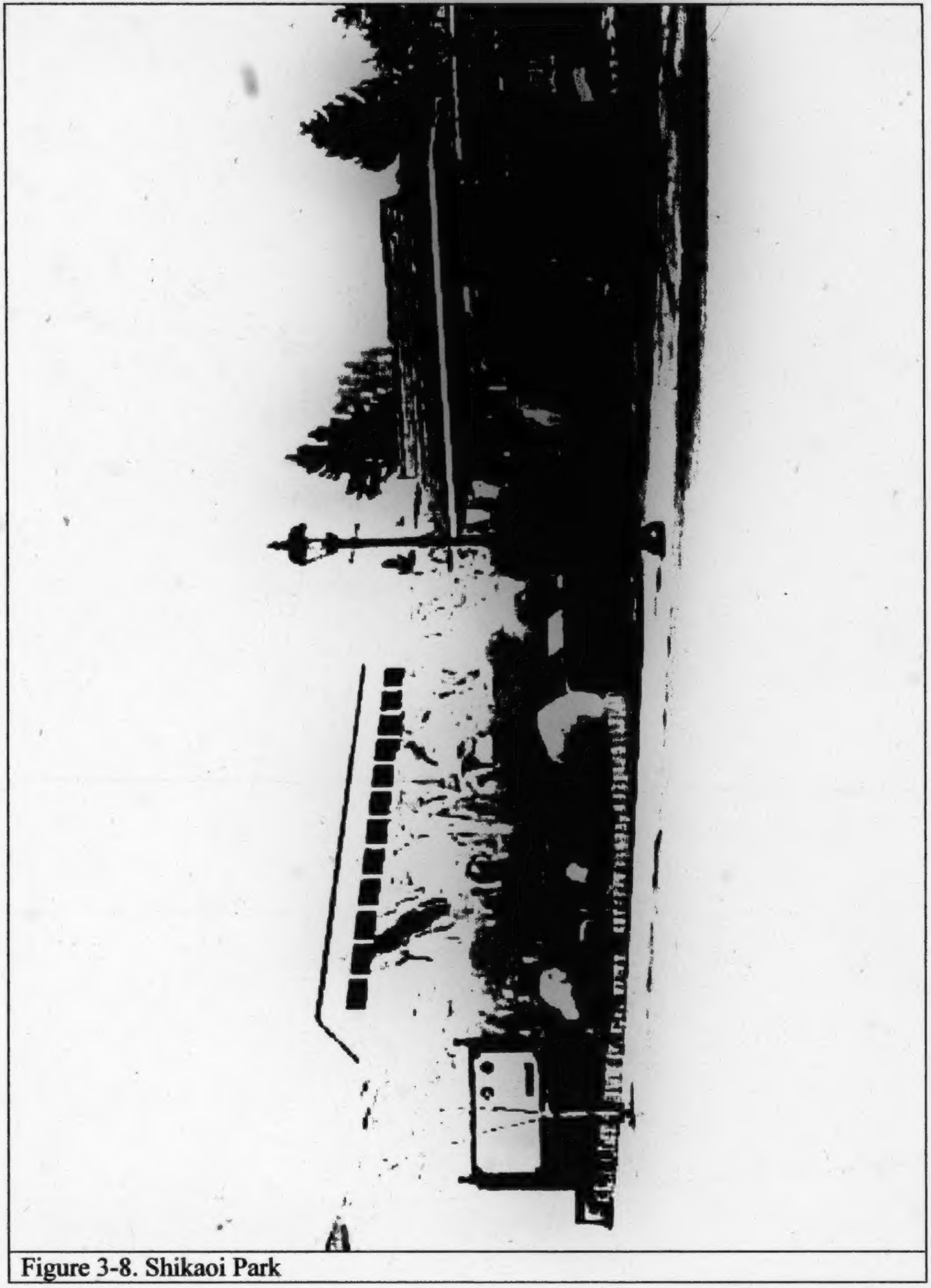

Figure 3-8. Shikaoi Park

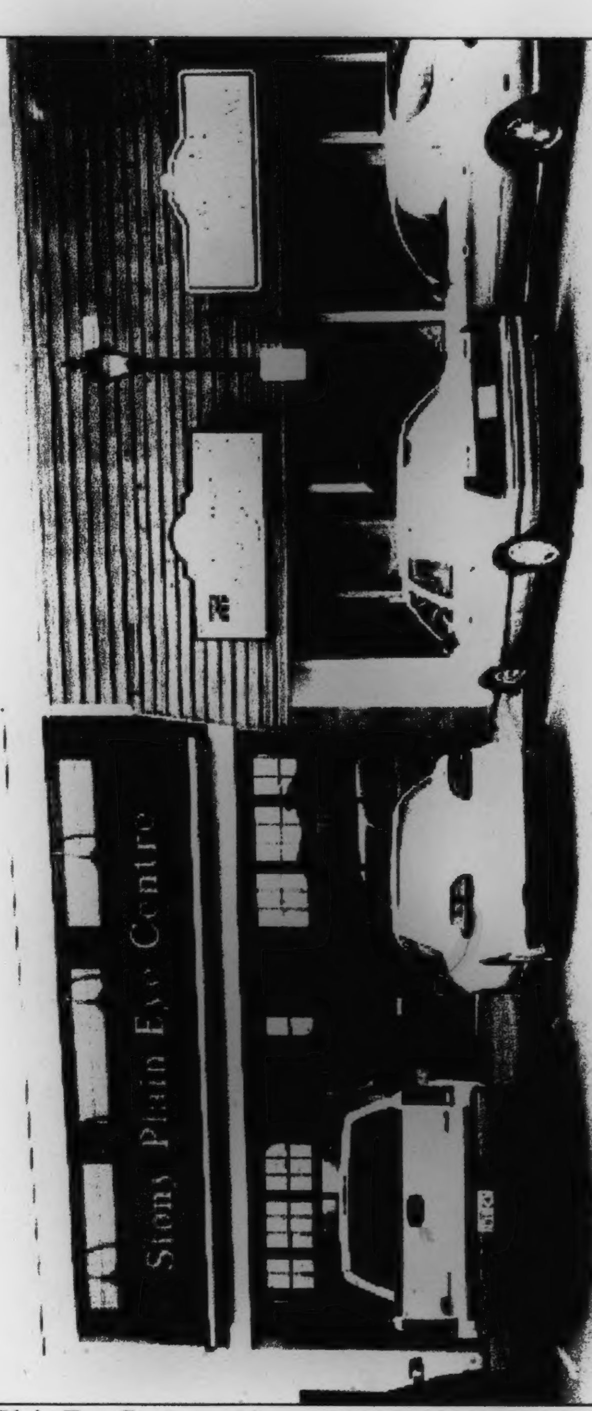

Figure 3-9. Stony Plain Eye Centre

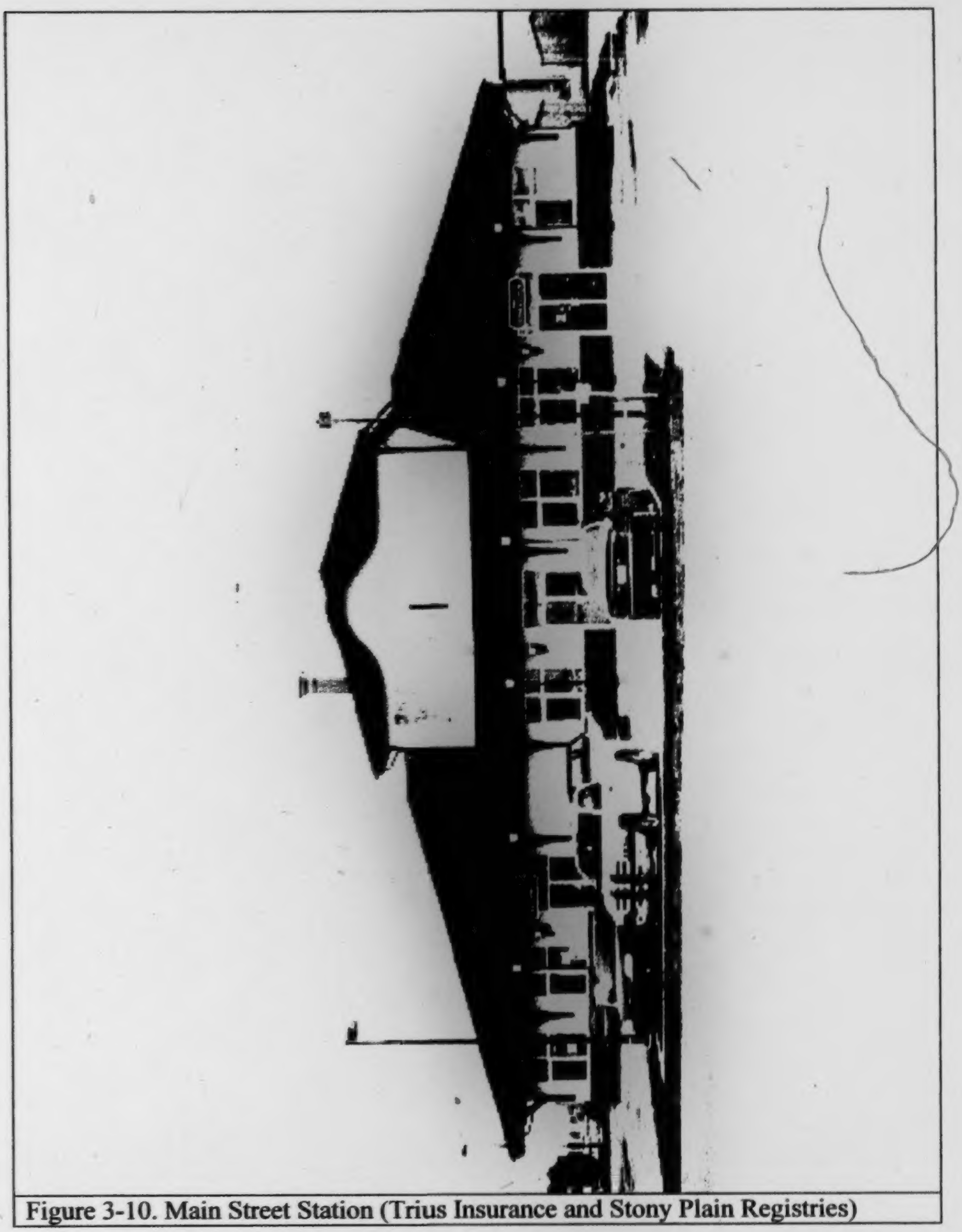

Figure 3-10. Main Street Station (Trius Insurance and Stony Plain Registries)

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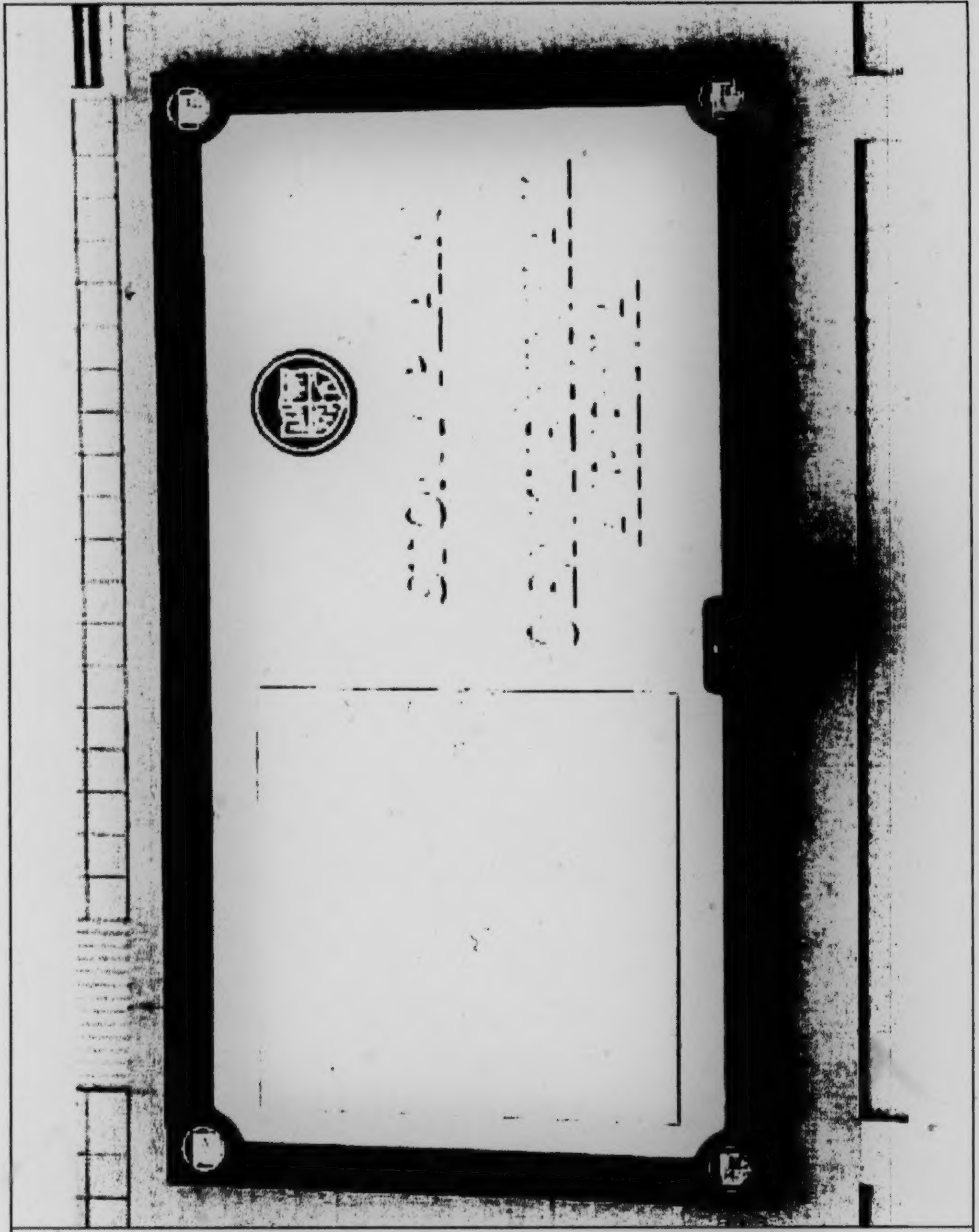

Figure 3-11 Municipal signage

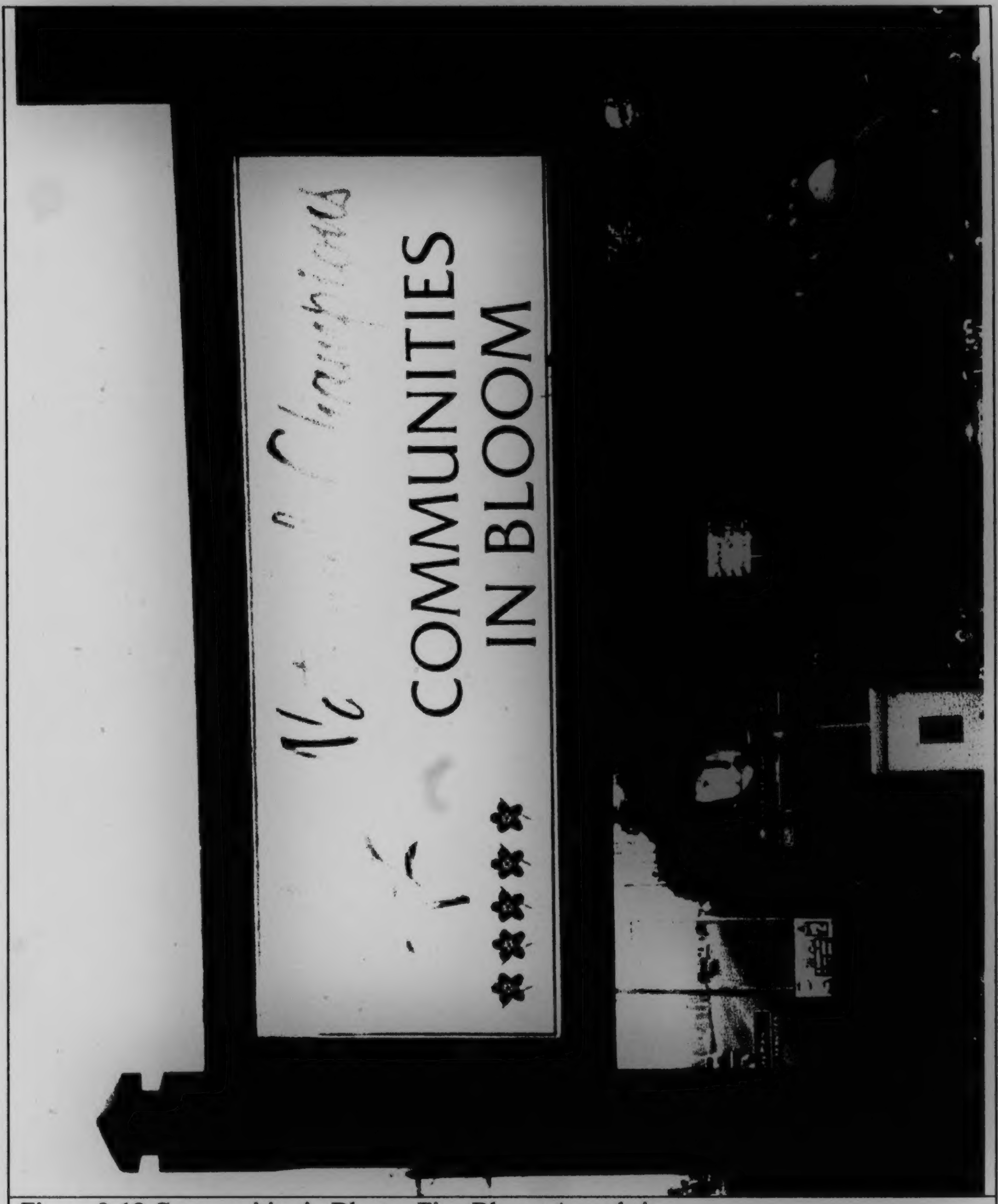

Figure 3-12 Communities in Bloom, Five Bloom Award sign

The selfless citizen/subject: Ethical incompleteness, community, and heritage

Communities in Bloom Judge Howe's comments provide a useful point of departure for the discussion of the making of contemporary Stony Plain and the making of the active, engaged citizen of Stony Plain. Howe's statements expose the relationship between popular conceptions of community and proper conceptions of citizenship. Within Howe's evaluation, the quality of community is inextricably linked to the quality/propriety of that community's citizens/subjects. With the 2000 *Communities in Bloom* entry Stony Plain's citizens have collectively achieved the status of a good community; or as Foucault (1991) describes, the "common good: [t]he state of affairs where all the subjects without exception obey the laws, accomplish the tasks expected of them, practice the trade to which they are assigned" (p. 94-95) and so forth. Toby Miller (1993) suggests that institutions and discourses make "well-tempered, manageable cultural subjects" or, as I suggest, the good subject/citizen by "inscribing ethical incompleteness onto subjects in a process of two-way shifts between the subject as singular, private person and the subject as collective, public citizen". "These shifts," Miller goes on to say, "operate to produce loyal citizens who learn to govern themselves in the interests of the cultural-capitalist polity" (p. ix).

Miller's (1993) book, *The well-tempered self: Citizenship, culture, and the postmodern subject,* discusses the making of contemporary citizens. The title is a trope of J.S. Bach's *Das wolhtemperierte klavier* (*The well-tempered keyboard*). Miller explains that Bach's method of tempering/tuning the clavichord was different from the orthodox method of tuning. The dominant method, the "mean-tone system, always left some keys out of tune, while others were well in tune," whereas, "Bach favored small adjustments to the system that would find each key equally pleasant to the ear" (Miller, 1993, p. ix) even if they were not perfectly in tune. The technique was called "equal temperament" and was primarily a pedagogic work aimed at training people to become good players of pleasant music. It was "an exercise in mutability, always within the domain of a polite, coordinated tone that does not jar and is consistent" (p. ix). Miller posits that in much the same way as Bach's "equal temperament" tuning was a pedagogic work aimed at reforming and refining the sound of music and the musical style of the musician, contemporary citizenship training serves a pedagogic work aimed at reforming and refining subjects within a (cultural-capitalist) civil society. Public policy, Miller suggests, works at creating the well-tempered subject: the obedient, conforming subject of equal and even temperament who both identifies with and actively works toward maintaining obedient, polite, harmonious relations within a civil society.

The well-tempered subject of contemporary civil society is the product of dynamic, complex ethical relations between the privately concerned and the publicly concerned self/citizen. The ethical relationship between the privately and publicly concerned self/citizen is central to understanding how people in Stony Plain come to identify with Stony Plain's particular conception of community and then willingly come to manage themselves within the Town's tourism ambitions. Miller (1993) defines "ethics" as "the personal capacity to draw upon moral codes as a means of managing one's conduct" that becomes "an exercise without end, a seminar of the conscience between desires, practices, collective and individual needs, and so on" (Miller, 1993, p. xii). In this sense, contemporary cultural subjects are taught to perceive themselves through a lens of indeterminacy, ethical incompleteness. Subjects are encouraged to find their incompleteness and remedy, or correct it through a process of constant self-evaluation. This constant process of self-evaluation and self-correction helps to make a subject's publicly concerned self resonate with his or her privately concerned self.

Judge Howe's evaluation of Stony Plain's 2000 *Communities in Bloom* campaign provides two useful examples of ethical incompleteness at work within the subject formation of Stony Plain's citizen subjects. The first example I have already introduced. Judge Howe assessed Stony Plain's initial attempts to win *Communities in Bloom* National Championship status as failures. However, during the years that Stony Plain was developing its heritage infrastructure and especially during the years between the different *Communities in Bloom* competitions, Stony Plain's residents were trained and coerced to individually and collectively evaluate, identify and correct deficiencies that limited their collective ability to become an exemplar of the good community (in bloom). Mary Radcliffe provides Judge Howe's second example of ethical incompleteness at work within the making of Stony Plain's citizen subjects:

> She [Judge Howe] commented on meeting 87 year-old Mary Radcliffe, who is still gardening, and on the involvement of people of all ages in Communities in Bloom.
>
> "Everything is very high quality –just a first class operation" (Gossen, 2000a, p. A3).

87 year-old Mary Radcliffe is celebrated by Judge Howe as an exemplary citizen of Stony Plain and as an important, productive member within the *Communities in*

Bloom process. Radcliffe's participation in *Communities in Bloom* exemplifies the productive and mutually reinforcing relationship between the privately concerned and publicly concerned self. Radcliffe's privately concerned self who loves to garden and participate in community building is commensurate with a publicly concerned self that participates in community beautification and believes in the value of citizen involvement for the betterment of community.

Ethical incompleteness: Establishing moral codes

Miller's (1993) definition of ethics, however, alludes to one of the main problems associated with the making of cultural subjects. The problem is: what values, beliefs and desires determine the "moral codes" through which cultural subjects come to judge and then manage their conduct? The problem of determinate moral codes is a result of tensions between belief in universal/absolute social/moral foundations and the recognition of the social and the moral as forms that are contingent upon complex, shifting, historical processes and competing discourses. Miller (1993) explains the implications of this tension on the making of contemporary cultural subjects:

> If ethics seems to address the idea of "relations between an autonomous, self-determining subjectivity and a set of potentially, but never actually universalizable values," as Vincent Pecora argues, then the inculcation and application of these values will be a determining influence on the subject itself as much as the other way round. The subject is not stable here, for it is itself reconditioned by the effort of interiorising and exteriorizing such precepts. There is effectively no way out of the struggle between conditional and absolute answers to ethical dilemmas, a struggle that never decides finally whether there are always already contingencies of value, or whether we can somehow enter a domain of signs that needs no history in order to arrange ethical interaction (p. xii-xiii).

The tension between conceptualizations of "autonomous, self-determining subjectivity" and potentially "universalizable" value are further complicated by traditional philosophical ethics that is concerned with trying to identify the universal values that underpin "contemporary conceptions of correct or incorrect action" (Miller, 1993, p. xiii) and classifications of "the good and the bad" as "moral guides" (p. xiii) for our relationships with others.

Miller suggests that the indeterminacy caused by the un-resolvable relationship between the absolute and the contingent, has two significant effects on the cultural subject. First, the tension makes one aware of one's own incompleteness. Second, this awareness of ethical incompleteness encourages the subject to harmonize the tensions into "a single ethical substance" by means of "the form of a series of exercises of the mind, dedicated to understanding both the maintenance of boundaries and the means to cross them via a debate about thought and feeling, desire and action, structure and agency, and the publicly and privately concerned self" (Miller, 1993, p. xiii). The second point is especially important from the perspective of the intersection of cultural training and social normalization. In terms of making the publicly and privately concerned cultural subject, it is through training that people are "invited or incited to recognize their moral obligations" (Foucault in Miller, 1993, p. xiii). Cultural training, therefore, both inscribes cultural value on the subject while it normalizes the population. The inscription of normalized cultural value and belief becomes dominant and masks its historical and social contingency, whilst at the same time providing the normalized value or belief with a veneer of seemingly universal truth.

Recognizing an obligation (heritage, community and economy)

The concepts of traditional community and heritage have become foundational/normalized discourses within contemporary Stony Plain's collective identity. Community building that is situated within the assumption of tradition and shared core values has become the target of citizenship training within the Town's community development and tourism ambitions. The focus for much of contemporary Stony Plain's citizenship training revolves around the relation between the good (civically active, clean, safe, traditional, family-oriented) community and the viable (economic, wealthy, successful, prosperous) community. The concept of community becomes an ethical dilemma, and the object of ethical incompleteness for the people of Stony Plain. The crux of the ethical dilemma is the difference between the community (Stony Plain) as stable, traditional, progressive, ordered, selfless and cohesive (this is a popular foundational narrative of community) and the community[20] as unstable, different, disordered, selfish, chaotic, and fragmented (this is a contingent narrative of social structure). Positive value, or goodness is popularly ascribed to conceptualizations of traditional, stable community whilst negative value, incompleteness or badness, is ascribed to the threat posed by a shift toward unorthodox, fragmented communit(y/ies). The desire for the former (the foundational community rooted deeply within a belief in a shared heritage, collective values, common goals and viable economy) becomes the target of Stony Plain's citizenship training so that the latter (the fragmented communit[y/ies]) might be avoided.

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[20] I do not want to suggest the negation of 'community' as such, but to suggest a kind of frightening social chaos that is commonly associated with disruptive social change.

Globalization as destabilization and possibility

The early to mid-1980s are pivotal to understanding the making of contemporary Stony Plain's well-tempered subjects/citizens. John Urry (1997) suggested that it was the "interconnections between [global and local processes] which account for the particular ways in which an area's local history and culture is made available and transformed into a resource for local economic and social development within a globally evolving economy and society" (p. 152). The conditions created through processes of globalization are perceived to pose, on the one hand, a terrible threat to the community; and on the other hand, if these conditions are negotiated properly, they present a terrific opportunity for the citizens of Stony Plain. In the first instance, Stony Plain as a stable viable community was (or appeared to be) threatened by a series of rapid and undesirable social and economic changes. It is within the context of threat that community (especially community conceived as traditional, co operative and publicly concerned) became an ethical concern for the people of Stony Plain. Tourism and heritage-based community development are perceived as exciting new possibilities for growth and prosperity within Stony Plain because they reinforced traditional (foundational) public values (community) whilst at the same time tackling the troubling contemporary economic and social challenges faced by the community. I address Stony Plain as threatened (misaligned public and private concern) community first.

The threatened community

Community as a foundational narrative became a central concern for many townspeople as Stony Plain[21] encountered drastic social, economic, political and physical/material changes. The perception of Stony Plain as a stable, viable, traditional prairie community became threatened under the general effects of globalization. The changes occurring within Stony Plain produced angst around the cohesiveness of the community, the viability of Stony Plain as a small town, and the ability of Stony Plain to be productive and competitive within rapidly changing global economy (Day, 1999).

Within the context of globalization, Stony Plain's identity as a rural farming community was threatened by urban and suburban sprawl. People were being directed away from Stony Plain, a town that had traditionally acted as the regional economic centre. All roads, it seems led out of Stony Plain: to shopping malls and employment areas in Edmonton, the coalmines and generating stations by Wabamun Lake, the provincial oil fields, and to the new housing subdivisions throughout the region. Agriculture, as the primary sector of the local economy and the basis for a solid social foundation,[22] was rapidly losing ground to a service sector and resource based economy. Family farms were being lost to industrialisation, re-developed as industrial scale agri-business, or sold for residential acreage developments. The population of the town was also rapidly growing; however these newcomers' ties to the community seemed weak because they were increasingly transient, and/or had significant ties to other locales. The most obvious and distressing sign that things were changing was the perceived 'death' of Stony Plain's Main Street[23] and downtown core. It was once the busy economic and social hub of the region, but by the mid-1980s many of its businesses were failing, shops stood empty, and the buildings and the streets were in disrepair. The physical decay of Main Street along with increased business vacancy simultaneously signified the decay of a unique, thriving, rural community, and the loss of traditional values and beliefs that had built Stony Plain's community.

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[21] I am not suggesting that Stony Plain was unique. The effects of globalization (movement of trans-national capital, people, etc.) have had profound social, political and economic effects on many locales (ergo globalization).

[22] A solid social foundation that was characterized by family, neighbourliness, Christian values, hard work and rugged individualism.

In conjunction with the changes that are described above, the provincial economy was threatened and uncertainty pervaded the province's social and political atmosphere. Alberta's oil and gas dependent economy was in the midst of a recession because of slumping world oil prices. The Provincial government, which relied heavily on oil and gas revenues to fund social programs and provincial infrastructure, severely cut funding levels. Municipal budgets along with social, educational, health and cultural programs were severely restricted or in many cases funding was withdrawn completely (Goyette, 1987; Lisac, 1995; Taft, 1997). The loss of provincial funding left many municipalities, provincial ministries (i.e. Alberta Community Development) and service organizations struggling to fund basic public services and growing municipal infrastructures. The economic and social changes left local governments and citizens uncertain about their ability to provide for their future needs.

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[23] For the symbolic significance of Main Street in North American towns and cities see: Specht, 2004; Tauxe, 1998; Wetherell and Kmet, 1995.

The changes wrought by conditions associated with globalization posed a threat to Stony Plain's supposedly well-defined and well-entrenched communal identity. Themes of 'loss' (lost community, lost communal identity, lost business, lost wealth, lost heritage, and/or lost tradition) were commonly articulated when local people spoke about the changing nature of their community. Two excerpts, from the 1980s serve as examples of the loss of community theme that was pervasive within representations of Stony Plain's community. These two representations are particularly important for three reasons. First, the representations illustrate how perceptions of community are centred on the quality of the relationship between the publicly concerned and the privately concerned self/citizen. Within discourses of good community, it is imperative that public and private concern aligns. Second, the excerpts' appeal to traditional community and/or heritage as a foundation or essence that modern Stony Plain's social order lacks, has lost, or has somehow forgotten. Finally, both examples allude to moral solutions (the return to an alignment between publicly concerned and privately concerned selves/citizens), or more pointedly to a moral (civic) obligation to solve the problem of Stony Plain as a failing community.

Heritage and the privately concerned self

In the first excerpt, Les Miller (Reeve, County of Parkland) commemorates the publication of a local history book, *Along the fifth* (1982). Miller extols the virtue of traditional community as he expresses pride in Stony Plain's civically engaged pioneers, whilst at the same time lamenting the failure of community and the prevalence of selfishness within contemporary society:

> Few places have the wealth of history that exists around Stony Plain. Stony Plain was one of the earliest settlements in north central Alberta. The pioneers of this area made such significant contributions to the growth and development of this area, the province and our country, that it is extremely important that their heritage be preserved. As I read the early histories of many groups and organizations such as farm groups, Edmonton Exhibition, governments, whether local, provincial or federal, etc., names of Stony Plain residents appear prominently as organizers and promoters. We should be justly proud of the contributions they have made.
>
> In these days when one sees most people being interested only in "self" and little else, it is most gratifying to see another group of people, at great personal sacrifice, prepared to undertake a project [the publication of *Along the Fifth*] such as this (Les Miller, 1982, p. 7).

One might dismiss Les Miller's address as simply a nostalgic[24] longing for a golden age of Stony Plain that perhaps never really existed. But, the yearning for a particular vision of heritage and community speaks dramatically to the role of ethical incompleteness within subject formation.

Heritage is envisioned (normalized) as a foundational force that links past, present and future. For example, Stony Plain is represented as the legacy of the hard working pioneers who carved not only Stony Plain, but also the province and the nation out of the wilderness. Those pioneers are represented as the perfect blend of privately concerned and publicly concerned selves/citizens. As privately concerned selves, the pioneers are revered as independent, industrious, dedicated folks who built sturdy homes, thriving farms, successful business and close-knit families under the most challenging and hostile of conditions (Atherton, 1952; Artibise, 1982; Francis, 1982; Goist, 1977; Wetherell & Kmet, 1995). As publicly concerned citizens, the pioneers are recognized as folks who comprehended the precariousness of the individual: the individual could not survive in or tame the wilderness alone. Interdependence was a necessity for both individual freedom and fulfilment and communal success; therefore, individuals had both self-interest and an obligation to help and support each other. The task of civilizing the desolate prairie and building prosperous communities, provinces and nation was the necessity and responsibility of each and every pioneer. Publicly concerned citizens mobilized themselves through farm groups, service organizations, government service, and neighbourly concern to support collective goals, and more importantly, to create a prosperous future for the larger community.

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[24] See: Lowenthal, 1998; Urry, 1990, 1995, 1996; and, Walsh, 1992 for critiques of nostalgia within the representations of the past. Two of the central critiques of nostalgia and representations of the past are that nostalgic representations lack historical rigour and appeal simply to people's emotional longings for a lost golden age.

Les Miller's comments clearly reveal the pedagogic force inscribed within popular conceptions of heritage as legacy and community as foundation. As Walsh (1992) explains, within the conceptualization of heritage there is the idea of continuity and tradition that establishes "proper pride" and "shared values" (p. 90) in people. It is clearly the responsibility of contemporary people to maintain, build off and perpetuate the solid social/communal/moral foundations that were built by the good (privately/publicly concerned) people in the past. However, within Miller's representation, community, as the aggregate of publicly concerned selves has been abandoned: most people "in these days" (contemporary people) have failed to recognize their debts to the hard work and sacrifice of their predecessors or the obligations that individuals have in making their communities successful. The balance has tipped and contemporary people have become privately concerned selves or merely "self"ish people. In their selfishness, contemporary people may be finding or fulfilling personal needs and desires, but they are neglecting the greater good and failing their community, province and country.

Community/economy and the publicly concerned self

In the second excerpt, Mayor Reg Kotch (1988a) laments Stony Plain's purchase of two, quarter sections of highway frontage land. The purchase of the land, ironically, is not a statement about Stony Plain's emerging potential within a competitive global economy, but is instead a statement of profound loss and a call to civic responsibility. The purchase of the land and the population growth within the town represent, for Kotch, the loss of traditional, small-town Stony Plain. The land purchase in combination with population growth meant Stony Plain unavoidably and undesirably was becoming a highway town, inevitably and assuredly moving toward city status[25]:

> While, historically, Stony Plain has not been known as a 'highway town' the consequences of the 1979 annexation and the 1980 purchase of two quarter sections of highway property have profoundly changed the image and planning direction for Stony Plain's continuing growth toward city status. These are irrevocable council decisions of the day and as current trustees of the 'public purse' we are obligated to follow the die that was cast nine years ago" (1988a, p. 4).

Foremost, Kotch's statement is a lament for the loss of Stony Plain as a traditional small prairie town with a Main Street centred community. Kotch's response is particularly constructive in two ways. First, Kotch's response highlights the transactional value between the social and the economic within traditional conceptions of community; and, second, his comments highlight the necessity of the dutiful, publicly concerned subject/citizen to fulfill the social and economic needs required by the larger community.

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[25] The relationship between small town and city is significant. Canadian and American small towns are romantically inscribed with positive social values (friendliness, neighbourliness, healthiness, safety, cleanliness and so forth) commonly associated with rural life. Cities are often inscribed with undesirable social values (social alienation, disease, decay, etc.) Please see the following for a detailed discussion of the relationship between urban and rural value formation: Atherton, 1952; Artibise, 1982; Francis, 1982; Goist, 1977; Wetherell & Kmet, 1995.

Stony Plain's contemporary construction of community and the responsible citizen/subject are tied to a historical conceptualization of Main Street as the foundation or "heart" of the prosperous prairie community[26] (Goist, 1977; Hummon, 1986; Tauxe, 1998; Wetherell & Kmet, 1995). The allure ascribed to representations of small prairie towns is that these towns supply their inhabitants with the best urban amenities while maintaining rural (wholesome, friendly, traditional) social values. Wetherell and Kmet (1995) explain that, historically, the making of prairie towns was about the transformation of frontier land into essentially urban forms. Business development along a prairie town's Main Street provided regional people with essential professional services (doctors, lawyers, dentists, and governmental services), retail services (food, clothing, and hardware), import and export opportunities (e.g. train service for movement of goods, agricultural products and people), and the potential for residential development. The concentration of essential professional, retail, import and export services along Main Street and within the downtown core, Wetherell and Kmet go on to explain, were also instrumental in creating much needed and desired social opportunities for an otherwise, largely isolated, rural population. The characteristics (hard-working, family-oriented, friendly, honest, virtuous and helpful) ascribed to the rural population and the small-scale nature of the prairie town tempered common conceptions surrounding the deleterious nature associated with the undesirable characteristics of most urban social forms (e.g. cities).

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[26] In 1988, Randall Way (director of Edmonton Downtown Business Association) gave a presentation to the Stony Plain and District Chamber of Commerce. The presentation emphasized the need for Stony Plain to promote its downtown core as a tourist attraction. Way emphasized to the audience the vital link between a town or city's downtown core and that place's respective sense of community: "As the American experience is proving, people want to hang on to a downtown, because a city without a downtown has lost its soul. It is said if you lose your downtown… you lose your sense of community. Downtown is everybody's neighbourhood. In all the cities of all the world, the best… is found downtown in the city centre" ("Downtown's a vital", 1988, p. A2). Way's session also included advice on how businesses could maximize Main Street's economic potential by continuing with beautification efforts, adding more 4-way stops to slow traffic and encourage pedestrian traffic, standardizing business hours and sharing advertising costs.

The relationship between the social and the economic within the construction of the town (and subsequently its sense of community), however, is asymmetrical, in that the town as an opportunity for social interaction is believed to be largely dependent upon the economic health and well being of the Main Street business community. Indeed, the survival of the prairie town was believed to hinge on a community's ability (largely through public booster campaigns about the economic potential of the town) to attract new residents, more farmers, and more business people (Atherton, 1952; Wetherell & Kmet, 1995). The loss of or failure to attract Main Street business created a cascading effect that resulted in the loss of business development, regional traffic and residential development and therefore, a perceived loss of community. Without a thriving Main Street, there were no legitimate reasons for people to congregate; and, no legitimate reasons for people to stay in the community or to associate with each other. The economically viable, financially prosperous, mutually sustaining, ever growing Main Street then became synonymous with the social health (cooperative, friendly, supportive) of the community. A thriving Main Street, thus, became a central concern underpinning private and public concern.

The mural, *Milling on Main* (Figure 3-13) serves as a brief example of the logic that situates Main Street, Main Street businesses, and Main Street centred social interaction as the locus of/foundation of the progressive prairie community. The mural also reflects the harmonious interaction between members of the community, when private and public concern resonates. *Milling on Main* (Johnston, 1999) "depicts the time period from 1911-1920s on the east side (bottom) while showing life in the 1940s and 1950s on the west side (top). The mural depicts a "bustling" Main Street, "as farmers bring their various products to the grain elevators and the feed mill", whilst the farmers and their "[f]amilies spend time visiting friends and doing their shopping –a tradition that is still carried on today" (Town of Stony Plain, 2001, p. 52).[27]

It is within the logic (fear) of lost or failing Main Street, that Kotch's lament over the highway frontage land purchase is intelligible. The purchase of the land, although strategically significant within the context of Stony Plain's emerging highway dependent economy, is represented by Kotch as a failure for public concern by the Town's previous municipal administration. The purchase disrupts the foundational values that underpin Stony Plain as a Main Street centred community. Stony Plain's survival as an authentic/real community where people know, support and interact with each other in meaningful ways depends on the maintenance of a thriving, vital, prosperous Main Street. Although, Kotch believed

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[27] These quotations also appear on a plaque that accompanies the mural. Interestingly, the plaque asks viewers of the mural if they are able to "recognize" any of the 50 people depicted in the mural, thus reinforcing the logic of a close-knit Main Street Centred community. Recognition is situated within the logic of belonging and community that suggests local members of a small, close-knit, friendly community should know who their friends and neighbours are and be able to identify them.

Stony Plain's move toward highway town and city were inevitable, his comments also emphasize the possibility of reclaiming Stony Plain's sense of community by means of a return to publicly concerned citizenship and strategic community-oriented management. In this sense, responsible citizens (especially as public officials), Kotch suggests, (still) have a duty to uphold the values of the community, and are obligated to manage Stony Plain's (good/productive) transition into this new social (city)[28] and economic form (highway town).

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[28] Stony Plain is (as of October 2003) still a town. Stony Plain does now have over 10 000 residents, therefore, it could apply for city status.

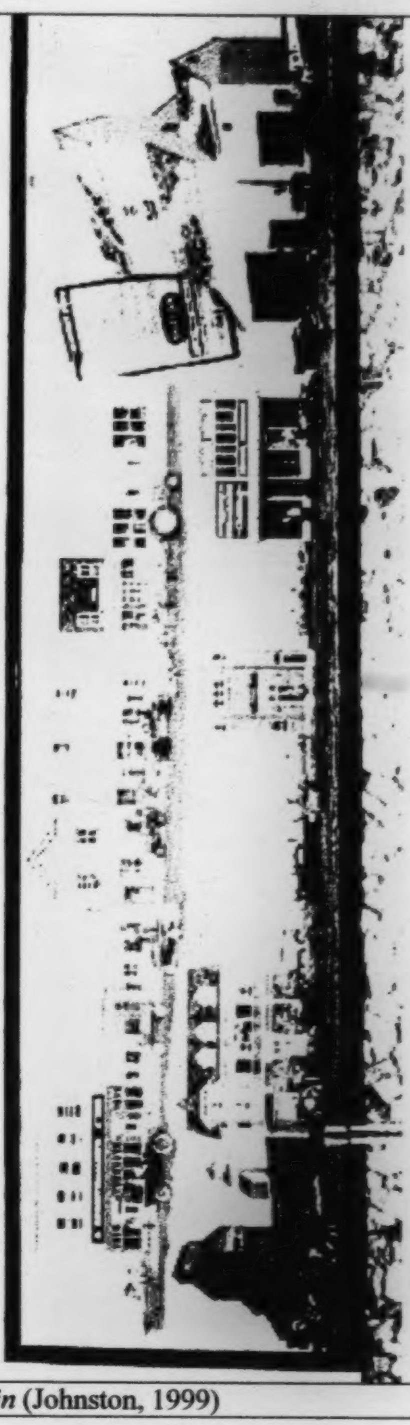

Figure 3-13. *Milling on Main* (Johnston, 1999)

Heritage tourism as opportunity

Heritage tourism appeared to be the perfect solution to Stony Plain's economic and social problems. Within the context of tourism (which relies upon the widespread movement of people and capital to operate)[29] and the Alberta government's tourism mandate, Stony Plain was now "well positioned to take advantage of tourism regionally and nationally" (Kotch, 1988b, p. 4), whilst at the same time "improv[ing] [the quality of life] for town residents" ("Action plan", 1988, p. A1). Instead of being a source of threat, the social, economic and political changes influencing Stony Plain became a potential source for economic growth, social stability, and community building. Tourism was positioned as a wise management strategy[30] for Stony Plain's publicly concerned citizens. The highways that led in and out of Stony Plain, the town's proximity to Edmonton, Stony Plain's residential growth, burgeoning physical infrastructure, intact downtown core and cultural/pioneer heritage[31] made tourism a viable option for maintaining Stony Plain as an economically prosperous community:

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[29] See: Hewison, (1998); MacCannell (1992); Urry (1995).

[30] The turn to tourism was also a good management strategy within the context of the Provincial government's mandate to make tourism a cornerstone of the provincial economy. The Alberta government wanted the *Community Tourism Action Plan* to act as a "catalyst" ("Action plan", 1988a, p. A10) for the development of the tourism industry as a significant part of the provincial economy. The Alberta government would support and partner with municipal governments and private sector interests (e.g. Stony Plain's municipal administration, the CC, various service organizations, and interest groups). As Linda Goyette (1987) suggests, the Provincial government (under both Premiers Don Getty and Ralph Klein) was "banking on charity". The Klein government in particular, relied predominantly on three mutually supporting philosophies. The first philosophy guiding Alberta's conservative government was that government involvement within a liberal capitalist state should be limited. This philosophy manifested in the development of pro-business/corporate legislation; or, with the providence of limited/seed funding for public welfare programmes; or, through the brokering partnerships between private business and public sector. The second philosophical underpinning was to instil private philanthropy into social welfare policy. For example, instead of taxation supporting community development projects, particular projects would depend on private sector fundraising and/or volunteerism. Finally, self-reliance was to be a foundational philosophical principle for individuals and communities (Barnett, 1999; Lemke, 2002; Rose, 2000). The Provincial government's role in the making of Stony Plain's citizens/subjects then becomes quite significant. Within neo-conservative rhetoric, both private and communal success is inextricably linked to the positive and productive relationship between the privately concerned self and publicly concerned citizen. For example, tourism is situated as a wise management strategy for ensuring a community's social and economic viability. Therefore, through the *Community Tourism Action Plan,* the Provincial government offered limited/seed money ($200 000) to start Stony Plain's Mural Programme. The money supports a community initiative that will, in turn, generate desired social and economic benefits for Stony Plain. However, in order for the Mural Programme to continue to serve its purpose and for the programme to be successful, it requires the ongoing support and work of

> In 1987, for example, the Multicultural Heritage Centre received 80 000 visitors, Andrew Wolf Wine Cellars received 60 000, and at the Stony Plain Golf Course 40 000 rounds of golf were played. Tourists do not necessarily come from far away places. A great many visitors to Stony Plain come from the City of Edmonton.
>
> When a tourist visits our community they spend money here. They purchase gifts, they buy meals, gas and other services. They may require accommodation and stay in a motel. Directly and indirectly the money they spend creates jobs and benefits the economy of the area[32] (Kotch, 1988b, p.4).

The identification of heritage (via the Multicultural Heritage Centre's ability to attract 80 000 tourists) as a tourism resource is particularly significant. By adopting heritage as a concentration within its tourism based community development, Stony Plain's tourism endeavours could address the perceived loss of the traditional, small town communal values. The implementation of heritage

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dedicated private and voluntary sectors within Stony Plain. Any failure within this process would then be a failure of community, and a failure of individual obligation to one's community (Lemke, 2002).

[31] It is important to note that each of these qualities is a quality that was identified by Stony Plain's *Community Tourism Action Plan* process. Municipalities, service organizations and concerned individuals who were interested in community development through program were provided with a *Community Tourism Action Plan* manual (Alberta Government, 1987). The manual is a policy document that guided interested parties through a series of exercises aimed at describing what tourism is and aimed at deciding whether tourism "is… for us" (p. 12). The manual outlines a series of questions that asked participants to honestly assess/identify whether their community had legitimate "tourist attractions", appealing "location", necessary "financial resources", and the appropriate "desire" to institute a community tourism action plan.

[32] This quote appeared in the *Stony Plain Reporter* in a section called "From the Mayor's Desk". The quotation represents civic training because it encourages Stony Plain's residents to participate in tourism building. The second paragraph, in particular, is important because it echoes the rationalization of tourism within Provincial government policy. Mayor Kotch borrowed much of the rationalization for Stony Plain's need to invest in tourism from the *Community Tourism Action Plan* manual (see: Alberta Government, 1987, p. 8-9).

tourism could serve the function of social reform[33] via tourism by re-asserting proper conceptions of community and public pride as the foundation of the town's social relations and economic potential. The visual and physical decay, the perceived loss of deeply rooted communal values, and the demise of public concern could be recuperated through the proper implementation of tourism based community development. By emphasizing heritage as legacy and traditional community as foundational, Stony Plain, could (re)assert itself as a good community steeped in positive social relationships, productive public concern whilst at the same time, providing town's people with a new and much needed source of economic security.[34] The following *Globe and Mail* (1990) excerpt speaks to the early implementation of heritage-based tourism within Stony Plain. The article clearly outlines the expectations associated with heritage tourism's implementation, and praises Stony Plain's transformation under tourism as the triumph of public concern (community)[35]:

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[33] In many ways, the kind of social reform offered up through tourism based (especially heritage tourism based) community development echoes the morality of Victorian rational recreation movements. Rational recreation movements are one among many interrelated social reform movements (such as: the National Parks movements (U.S. and Canada), cities beautiful movement, playgrounds movements, and muscular Christianity) that emerged out of the contexts of rapid industrialization and urbanization (particularly within England [1830s ff], United States [post 1850s ff], Canada, and Australia [post 1880s ff]. Central to rational recreation ideology was the linking of nature, health, and morality to leisure pursuits to civic education. Rapid industrialization and urbanization created harsh living conditions for many of the working class poor. These often unsanitary and difficult living and working conditions were often in conflict with upper and middle class values, morality and aesthetics. Social, economic and environmental decay was laid squarely on the shoulders of the working class recreational whose lives were believed to be morally corrupt, and whose leisure activities and living environments were thought to be disruptive of civic order. As a result of these social and material conditions, the working class and the urban environment became the objects/targets of social reform. The natural, that is non-urban, environment was romantically linked to health, vitality and moral propriety. Urban landscapes underwent transformations toward (what was considered) more natural and healthy state. Sanitation was improved and urban park space developed. In addition, to changes in the physical environment, health and morality were addressed with the creation, implementation and public support of 'appropriate' forms of recreation. By limiting and legislating, the type of recreational activities available to the public, Victorian morality would be upheld and public disorder limited and controlled. Education became a central tool for the transformation of the working class toward Victorian values of respectability and social productivity. Social reform via rational recreation in Victorian England, the United States, Canada and many former British Colonies are well documented. See: Peter Baily (1988) for and in depth discussion of rational recreation within Victorian, England. For a Canadian perspective (focussing particularly on urban reform) see, Susan E. Markham-Starr (n.d).

[34] The logic that operates within the relationship between public and private concern in neo-conservative community development discourses is the trickle down effect. Although business development predominantly benefits the entrepreneurial class, the wealth generated by these

> When the oil bubble burst in Alberta, one community took its welfare into its own hands.
>
> In the quiet Alberta farming community of Stony Plain, the colourful dream of a giant outdoor museum is taking shape.
>
> "You've got to see it to know what this incredible town of 6,000 has done," said Pamela Smith, Stony Plain's community development and tourism co-ordinator.
>
> Many Alberta towns the same size as Stony Plain spent the post oil boom days worrying about the future watching the paint peel. But in Stony Plain, citizens are trying to guarantee their future by glorifying their past.
>
> "We decided to build on the strength of our heritage rather than just bring in new things," Smith says. "We have a great deal of very rich Alberta history here," Smith said of the town founded in 1908 ("Painting the old town's", 1990, p. C 4).

Although the *Globe and Mail's* represents Stony Plain's turn to tourism as a triumph of public concern and responsible citizenship, it also exposes some of what is at stake for Stony Plain in its turn to tourism. The fate of Stony Plain as a progressive, productive, successful community within the competitive global economy depends on an actively engaged, publicly concerned citizenry who are not willing to sit idly by and watch the "paint peel". In order for tourism to fulfill its function to the community, it needs the support of its 6,000 "incredible" citizens. Indeed, the adoption of heritage as a central theme and with the transformation of the downtown core into a "colourful" "giant outdoor museum", the community-tourism couplet takes on an added emphasis. By identifying heritage as a resource,

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people and their business interests is thought to trickle down (provide jobs, and create the circulation of capital within the region), therefore benefiting the whole community.

[35] Mayor Kotch and Reeve Miller would be proud of Stony Plain's transformation under tourism.

Stony Plain has identified community, or the legacy of Stony Plain's community as a resource that can be both represented and commodified for tourist consumption. Additionally, since heritage representation is conceived of as the display of Stony Plain's communal legacy, the transformation of the downtown core into a "giant outdoor museum" means that Stony Plain necessarily becomes community on display. Since the museum is "always open" (Murals Committee, 2001, p. ii), the quality of Stony Plain's community and the truth of its representation as a good, vital prosperous community is constantly on exhibit and under potential scrutiny by discerning tourists[36] (Hurt, 1994). Under these conditions then, it becomes imperative that Stony Plain does have, or at least is perceived to have by others (i.e. tourists, potential new residents and businesses), an "incredible town [community] of 6,000" who are ready to be put on display and represent themselves and their town as the proper manifestation of community.

Community development and tourism co-ordinator Smith's effusive praise of Stony Plain as an "incredible town of 6,000" becomes a strategic appeal to townspeople to behave and continue to behave in a way that both reflects community and supports tourism.[37] Responsible citizenship, the success of heritage tourism, and the success of Stony Plain as a viable contemporary heritage-based community depend on having "our [the citizens of Stony Plain's] mind set on tourism" ("Stony Plain already tourism", 1988, p.1). In the next section, I introduce Foucault's (1991) theorization of governmentality to address how Stony Plain residents are trained/disciplined within heritage tourism to identify as members of a heritage community and then "manage themselves" (Miller, 1993, xiii) accordingly. I describe the significance of governmentality in the process of normalization[38]. In particular, I explain how public policy, public discourse, and the museum process are used to train residents to support heritage tourism (thus becoming good members of Stony Plain's community), as well as, how they are used to help citizens achieve a "certain state of perfection, of happiness" (Foucault, 1993, p. 203) within that community.

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[36] Although tourism is identified as the primary target of community development, the image of Stony Plain as a successful community represented within tourism, is intended to attract new residents and (hopefully more) business.
[37] Smith's comments may also be read as a marketing attempt as well, advertising Stony Plain as a unique community with "rich Alberta history" to potential tourists.

"Participation! Do it for Stony Plain": Establishing the preferred vision

As I suggested earlier (p. 14), the conceptualization of proper/ good community is not a natural phenomena; however, the invocation of community is often internalized and externalized (Miller, 1993) by cultural subjects as a natural and rational way of being and associating. Within the context of Stony Plain's heritage based community development, the turn to heritage tourism is represented as the natural and logical extension of Stony Plain's small town communal legacy. This representation of historical Stony Plain as the natural community in which private and public concern resonates, equality of opportunity exists for each citizen, and future communal ambitions are shared is appealing. The deployment of the heritage community, however, often conceals the social principles and conditions valued by Stony Plain as a contemporary "globalized" community. One could argue, as Caroline Tauxe (1998) has argued about the transformation of small-town America, that Stony Plain is "[a] bedroom far-burb for commuters whose urban values and disproportionate wealth [have] quickly transform [the] town's character… into an elite caricature of 'traditional small town life" (p. 340). In effect, the appeal to idealized conceptualization and representation of small town community within community development discourses and heritage-based tourism often normalizes the elite and conservative social, political and economic community/forces that are shaping a locale's public sphere. Although these social processes that shape contemporary (Stony Plain's) community seem normal and natural, they are not. Foucault's (1991) work on governmentality offers a useful framework for exploring how contemporary cultural subjects are shaped by social processes like community development and heritage tourism, and indeed, how they come to identify with and willing lend their support to these formations of community.

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[38] The process of normalization can be described as "the moulding of people into 'normal' as opposed to 'abnormal' forms" and, "the process by which a culture encourages its people to regulate and achieve his or her own conformity with the established rules. This is achieved through governmentality" (*Foucault Dictionary Project*, retrieved Oct. 2003). The process of normalization has significant implications for critiques of violence within community development processes.

Governmentality

Foucault introduced the term governmentality as a way to talk about the shift away from the absolute power of the sovereign to the contemporary rise of the administrative state:

> With the move away from the total power of the sovereign, an art of government began to emerge. The view of the sovereign, exemplified in Nicolo Machiavelli's *The Prince*, saw the state as an object; the territory and the subjects within it belonged simply to the sovereign. But the new art of government was not about establishing distance, as in the old relationships between the sovereign and his subjects, but about establishing direct and immediate linkages between rulers and ruled. It was marked by an active involvement in the management of the state (Weinberger & Yordán, 2001, online).

Foucault argued that the emergence of contemporary government was not simply the replacement of the sovereign with a state/government whose absolute power was based in law of the state (Lemke, 2001, 2002; Miller, 1993, 1998; Weinberger & Yordán, 2001). Instead, government and particularly governmental rationality involved the use of tactics and strategies that would compel the masses and produce a certain politico-philosophic ends (Foucault, 1991). Power is naturalized or normalized within governmental rationality. In this way, when power is exercised through certain tactics and strategies with the aims of producing a particular goal, the process is rationalized as a common sense approach to solving that specific problem (Lemke, 2001). The organization and direction of people becomes a paramount issue within governmental rationality. In order for governance to be effective and particular ends to be met, the public then must be recognized as subjects of "needs" and "aspirations" (Foucault, 1991, p. 100). Indeed, Foucault argued that modern regimes of governmental power rely on people being citizens of a state people who identify their own needs as being in consort with those of the state[39] (community), and vice versa. The population[40] thus becomes "the ultimate end of government", whilst at the same time the "modern autonomous individual" (Lemke, 2001, p. 2) learns to identify with and achieve fulfilment within this governmental relationship:

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[39] Although Foucault talked about governmentality in terms of the emergence of the state, he suggested that, particularly within neo-liberal regimes, similar forms of governmental rationality could underpin, diffuse and operate through quite small and diverse groupings or communities (see: Burchell, 1991, p. 120; Foucault, 1991, p. 101-103).

[40] Foucault (1991) suggested that with the advent of statistics and demography, the people became something that could be known or knowable object that could be quantified and qualified through strategic planning and intervention (pp. 99-104).

> In contrast to sovereignty, government has as its purpose not the act of government itself, but the welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health, etc.; and the means that the government uses to attain these ends are themselves all in some sense immanent to the population; it is the population itself on which government will act either directly through large-scale campaigns, or indirectly through techniques that will make possible, without the full awareness of the people, the stimulation of birth rates, the directing of the flow of population into certain regions or activities, etc. The population now represents more the end of government than the power of the sovereign; the population is the subject of needs, or aspiration, but it is also the object in the hands of the government, aware, vis-à-vis the government, of what it wants, but ignorant of what is being done to it. Interest at the level of the consciousness of each individual who goes to make up the population, and particular interests and aspirations may be of the individuals who compose it, this is the new target and fundamental instrument of the government of population: the birth of a new art, or at any rate of a range of absolutely new tactics and techniques (Foucault, 1991, p. 100).

Power[41] operates internally within this modern regime. It is persuasive, in that it aims people toward self-improvement (or as Toby Miller [1993] argues, the alignment of private and public concern), so that they "participate in their own subjectification by exercising power over themselves, tying themselves to scientific or moral definitions of who they are" (Simons, 1995, p. 2). As Foucault (1997) explains, governmentality becomes an important mechanism for the circulation of power, and the legitimating and normalization of particular forms of knowledge within social orderings, for it "implies the relationship of the self to itself" and can "cover the whole range of practices that constitute, define, organize, and instrumentalize the strategies that individuals in their freedom can use in dealing with each other" (p. 300). In this sense it is "through the operation of technologies of governance" that the public is managed by "having it managing itself" (Miller, 1993, p. xiii). This co-determining relationship between the state (community) and individual is a very important aspect in training people to align themselves with the public concern that is produced within community development and heritage tourism discourses. What makes heritage tourism and community development processes difficult to critique, however, is that their practice is rendered natural, rational, and voluntary within the self-improvement procedures that characterizes the exercise of governmental power.

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[41] Foucault was interested "in the way in which relations of power turn human beings into subjects" (Foucault in Simons, 1995, p. 2). During the course of his philosophical career, Foucault investigated three broad categories of power relations: sovereign power, disciplinary power and governmental power. Foucault argued that under sovereignty, the pre-modern regime of power where people were subjects of a sovereign and sovereign institutions, people are forced through violence or through threats of violence to accept the authority of the sovereign (state). In this sense, authority is enforced externally. Disciplinary power is a form of surveillance that is internalized. Individuals learn to/are taught to self-discipline. The objective of the disciplinary process is to forge a "docile [body] that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (1979). Disciplinary power is associated with the rise of capitalism, "without the insertion of disciplined, orderly individuals into the machinery of production, the new demands of capitalism would have been stymied. (Foucault in Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982, p.135). It is important to recognise that although I focus predominantly on Foucault's conceptualization of governmental power (which I describe in the main body of the text), I am not dismissing or excluding the circulation of other relations of power. As Foucault (1991) said, "we need to see things not in terms of the replacement of a society of sovereignty by a disciplinary society and the subsequent replacement of a disciplinary society by a society of government; in reality one has a triangle, sovereignty-discipline-government, which has as its primary target the population and as its essential mechanism the apparatuses of security" (Foucault, p. 102).

Policy: Training through representation and intervention[42]

Thomas Lemke (2001) suggests that governmental rationality operates through a process of "representation" and "intervention". Although certain rationalities appear natural, normal and logical[43], "political rationality is not pure, neutral knowledge which simply 're-presents' the governing reality" (p. 2); instead, the rationality defines concepts, establishes the boundaries, and provides the arguments that will legitimate its particular knowledge and rationalize the forms or structures through which power is exercised. In this manner, when a particular governmental rationality encounters a problem, the knowledge underpinning it allows one to create strategies to solve or neutralize the problem and devise the instruments through which one can make adjustments to the system. Therefore, as Lemke suggests, the ability to represent a problem within the framework of a particular rationality creates the possibility for strategic intervention (via technologies of governance) that will help to solve the problem, thereby asserting or confirming that particular underlying rationality. In terms of the training of cultural subjects, governmental rationality and its affiliated representations and interventions create a general set of conditions and values that people learn to identify with as well as through which they learn to rationally structure and adjust their actions (Lemke, 2001).[44]

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[42] From (Lemke, 2001)

[43] For example, community and the invocation of community are assumed to be qualities that all people are aspiring toward. Subsequently, it is logical to assume that community is normal, desirable and reasonable.

According to Toby Miller (1993, 1997), public policy, like those behind community development initiatives, are instruments of governmental rationality that shape and guide the public as well as their communal interactions. Public policy is an effective instrument of government rationality because of its ability to identify and represent potential social, economic and/or political problems to the public, as well as devise strategic interventions that are intended to serve public interest by having the public work on or address the problem. Public policy initiatives have played a major role in the formation of community within Stony

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[44] At this point, I must insert a caveat. Although governmental operations aim to address specific problems and achieve particular outcomes, this does not necessarily mean that these systems are totally oppressive. Foucault (1984) said "everything is dangerous" (Foucault in Rabinow, 1984, p. 343), that is there can be unexpected outcomes produced that may totally contradict a discourse or the intent of a procedure. For example, the Soho computer company played off of Stony Plain's mural theme and painted their building in bright neon colours with representations of cartoon-like computer parts.

Plain through Stony Plain's community development and heritage-based tourism initiatives. Two complementary public policy interventions (the "inside-out community development model" and Stony Plain's implementation of *Community Tourism Action Plan*), in particular have contributed to shaping the general conditions that constitute Stony Plain's contemporary community and guide communal value and behaviour. In the text that follows, I explain how the inside-out community economic development process has worked on and through Stony Plain's citizens to make Stony Plain into a heritage town.

Inside-out community development

The municipal government created the *Mayor's Task Force on Economic Development* (task force)[45] in 1986. The goal of the task force was to find solutions to what was represented as public concern, fuelled by Stony Plain's demise. The task force developed a "coalition approach" to "community economic development"[46] (Day, 1999, p. 10), an approach that continues to form the foundation of contemporary Stony Plain's community and economic development process. This community development model was designed and implemented in order to foster economic growth and development from the "inside-out" (p. 1). Unlike popular community development models that focused on offering potential business or industry tax, land and building concessions to locate within their municipal district, Stony Plain's "inside-out community development model" focused on exploiting Stony Plain's "plentiful supply" of "human resources" (Day, 1999, p. 10). As such, the inside-out model focussed upon the identification, development and training of "people living within the community" (p. 10). The objectives of the process were to secure Stony Plain's "quality of life"[47] (Day, 1999, p. 12; Stahl, 1988, p. 33; "Stony Plain mill rate, 1990, p.1), affirm the community's values, and establish interventions that would bring about the community's "preferred future"[48] (Day, 1999, p. 3).

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[45] The task force was comprised of Town counsellors, Chamber of commerce members, local service organization members, and local municipal civil servants.

[46] Ikeotuonye (2002) emphasises how language is used within community development to foster the alignment of public and private concern. Terms (e.g. partnership, progress, grass-roots, community, family, belonging and progress) are strategically deployed within community development discourse to encourage citizen support and appeal to private ambitions.

It is important to note, that the inside-out process aims to produce and promote stability and growth by capitalizing on human resources located within the local community; however, the process should not be understood as a strictly internal model of community development. In fact, the internal transformation of the community is a strategic attempt to produce a supportive social and economic environment that attracts outside attention and investment, as well as garners favour from Provincial and Federal governments. For example within the inside-out model, Stony Plain's community economic development philosophy changed from:

> Who can we convince to come to our Town to set up an enterprise and how can we convince them to come?, to
> **Why would anyone want to come to Stony Plain?**
> **For our people!**
> **How can we promote this theme?**
> **Through our people!**
> (Day, p. 13-14, 1999, emphasis in original).

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[47] The "quality of life" is a recurrent theme within Stony Plain's community discourses. It is a pedagogically important theme for two reasons. First, constant enunciations about the high quality of Stony Plain's communal life within newspaper articles, public discourse, volunteer recognition advertisements, and tourism material serve as a constant reminder to residents about what is to count as appropriate communal behaviour. Second, the representation of a high quality of life serves to entice potential visitors, residents and business investors.

[48] The "preferred future" is often represented as self-explanatory or assumed to be common sense knowledge that is held by all. The assumptions underlying the preferred future are: the creation of a positive quality of life (wealth, harmony, and opportunity for citizens) and the establishment of a progressive, ever-growing economic base that all people can benefit from and/or access.

As one can infer, the production of an economically motivated, cooperative, supportive, publicly concerned population is privileged within the inside-out construct. The inside-out model is rhetorically constructed so that public concern does not hinder private fulfilment, but instead encourages and achieves it within Stony Plain's economically progressive, people-oriented understanding of community. The representation of Stony Plain as productive, progressive balance between publicly concerned community and privately fulfilled citizens has two important functions. The representation operates to reinforce communal values and perpetuate Stony Plain's community development goals; and, it functions to persuade investors and like-minded others that they too will find private fulfilment within Stony Plain's supportive communal environment.

The inside-out community economic development model, as described by Barrie Day (1999), is a value-based development model that emphasises a "return to local autonomy" by "putting the responsibility for the development of the community back into the hands of its citizens" (p. 1-2). The fostering of public concern within private ambition is a central tenant of the inside-out model. The inside-out process features six key elements that specifically target communal value and citizenship training as normal and necessary components of successful community development: 1) the establishment of meaning, 2) the identification of leaders, 3) the establishment of a vision of the preferred future, 4) the creation of communal image (both internal image and external image), 5) the building of capacity, and 6) the establishment of support for managing the preferred future. The inside-out model is very important because it establishes the general conditions through which Stony Plain's overall community development process operates.

Meaning and leadership

The inside-out model is based on the supposition that a "set of core values" exists within the community and provides citizens with a foundation or "passion for community" (Day, 1999, p.2). Even though Stony Plain had been variously represented as a community in decline, the persistent representation of Stony Plain as a town with a strong communal heritage/foundation meant that task force members could still identify Stony Plain's "core values" (p. 2). By simply consulting with people in the community, the task force would be able to uncover the values and belief that had originally made Stony Plain a vital and prosperous community. In turn, the task force would take that information and make "all citizens aware" (p. 2) of what the task force had learned via public discourse (e.g. local advertisements and through projects the community chose to sponsored)[49]. The establishment of what constituted Stony Plain's shared or communal meaning is important for two reasons. First, communal meaning (is perceived to) unites people and gives them common points of identification, articulation and destiny. Second, since meaning is shared, "**[a]ll** decisions and subsequently, all [community development] activities can be held against these values to determine their worth" (Day, 1999, p. 2, emphasis in original). The community can progress and develop because the people have self-identified as publicly concerned citizens who are united by shared values, beliefs and desires; and, who are ultimately striving toward common goals.

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[49] The *Community Tourism Action Plan* program complemented the inside-out model. The *Community Tourism Action Plan* involved a series of public consultations with interest groups (e.g. Chamber of Commerce, Heritage Agricultural Society, various other service organizations, tour operators, and so forth), followed by the public revelation of consultation results and recommendations, and finally by appeals for public support.

The consultative process that identifies shared value, however, does pose a problem. The task force used an informal consultation network involving people whom the task force identified as local leaders[50]. The public consultation process targeted leaders in Stony Plain and area's business community, agricultural and crafts sectors, service organizations and governmental agencies[51]. These people helped to identify the community's "core set of values". As a result, these values were represented within Stony Plain's community development initiatives as the values, beliefs, and aspirations that guide (all) Stony Plain citizens. By suggesting that consultation reflected an all-encompassing communal endeavour, an illusory equality is established. The consultation process assumed an "equality of opportunity" (Rose, 2000, p. 1397) that did not necessarily recognize social and material conditions that challenged or complicated many people's ability or desire to participate in the community. Even though the consultation process seemed inclusive, it exposes, as Brown suggests, that most "public institutions are more likely to define common good according to the interests of elites rather than reflecting identities and practices of diverse citizenry" (Brown in Caragata, 1999, p. 283). Instead, as Tucker asserts, contemporary community development discourses render entrepreneurial class and neo-conservative values self-evident:

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[50] The inside-out model defines leaders as people who "take responsibility for actions that involve community development" and who "model the core values created by the community" (Day, 1999, p. 3).

[51] It is important to note that the same people often occupy leadership roles in multiple organizations (business, government and/or service organizations).

> It appears self-evident to [economists and politicians] that development is about economic growth, efficiency, increased production and consumption...Underlying this vision is an implicit belief that all people share the same destiny, that they are essentially oriented towards the maximization of material and social goods, and that this is what ultimately motivates them (Tucker in Ikeotuonye, 2002, p. 74).

Although Stony Plain's inside-out process takes on the semblance of equality amongst, and equality of opportunity for all members of the community, the task force's concentration on leaders, privileged the articulation of Stony Plain's elite, entrepreneurial citizens' values and helped to legitimate their particular interests.

The core value identified through the task force's consultation process was "quality of life". Even though quality of life is identified as a core value, the term was not explicitly defined in any policy documents or public reports[52]. Instead, quality of life operates as a normalized term within Stony Plain's public discourse about community development issues. The public discourse assumes citizens implicitly understand what is meant by "quality of life" when one hears/reads it in relation to community development discourses and, more generally, within invocations of community. Quality of life is categorized in general terms to refer to positive, desirable social, economic and political attributes, and as such, is often related to general, material conditions like access to health, educational and recreational facilities as well as to clean, secure environments and healthy local economies. The following advertisement for the Town of Stony Plain appeared in an economic development magazine and exemplifies the quality of life theme:

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[52] Stony Plain's first inside-out strategic initiative was not well documented. Instead, the strategic directions emerged largely out of municipal government advertisements and public discourse from the Town, Chamber of Commerce and various service organizations. In 2003, the Town of Stony Plain commissioned an extensive community survey that updated Stony Plain's Strategic Plan. In the *2003 Strategic Plan*, the Town's vision, mission and core values were articulated: "Vision –A strong vibrant community where we respect our heritage, embrace the present and are excited about our future. Mission –Through a strong belief in community involvement and leadership we will: ·Nurture and preserve pride in our heritage, ·Provide excellent service and value through good governance, · Maintain a strong sense of community while embracing opportunities for growth that enhance our quality of life. Core Values –As people who care, we treat each other with respect and act with integrity by fostering: ·Collaborative leadership, ·Safety, ·Innovation and creativity, ·Quality and excellence, ·Partnerships and alliances, ·Recognition of achievements. Through these values, we are better able to learn, celebrate and dare to dream" (Town of Stony Plain, 2003, p. 1). The vision, mission and core values between the initial consultation (mid-1980s) and the 2003 process remain largely the same.

> Town of Stony Plain
>
> Committed to "Quality of Life"
> **A Progressive Community**
> Celebrating its past, present and future with confidence.
> **A Commitment to Culture and the Arts**
> Preservation of our history and a diversified arts and crafts community.
> **Planned Recreation and Parks Facilities**
> Recreation activities and organizations for the whole family. Miles of jogging, walking, bicycle and cross-country skiing trails by "Whispering Waters".
> **A Secure Environment**
> A full complement of medical, fire and law enforcement services for our residents.
> **Quality Education –Preschool to College**
> Offering the highest standard of education in a happy, fulfilling environment.
> **Stony Plain is the Place For You!**
> **We've Got It!**
> (Town of Stony Plain, 1988, p. 32, emphasis in original).

These characterizations of quality of life facilitate public and private concern. As a matter of public concern, the establishment of a good quality of life containing these positive qualities becomes the reasonable and desirable objectives of inside-out community development. As a matter of private concern, it is reasonable to assume that all people in the community will want, work toward, and find fulfilment within just such a life.

Visions (of the preferred future) and (communal) images

The above advertisement is an example of representation at work within Stony Plain's community development ambitions. Quality of life is deployed within the representation as the essence of Stony Plain's community, and, quality of life is represented as the factor that motivates Stony Plain's people to achieve the good life. Although advertisements are popularly recognized and dismissed as idealistic representations of consumer products, these kind of representational practices do play significant roles within community development discourses and the training of cultural subjects. Image generation is perhaps one of community development's most successful tools. Rose (2000) suggests that representations of community through themes of mutual responsibility, common purpose and universalized core values provides a "certain way of visualizing political problems, a rationality for rendering them thinkable and manageable, and a set of moral principles by which solutions may be generated and legitimated" (p. 1395).

Stony Plain's inside-out model, for example, uses image generation and idealization as part of its "action planning strategy" by asking citizens the question: "In the best of all worlds what should your community look like 20-30 years from now" (Day, 1999, p.3). The question is presented as a rational, productive and progressive question that enables appropriate and desirable community development. The question is based in the following logic: given that we (the community) value a good quality of life, then how must we behave to ensure we achieve that high quality of life in our future? The question is a rational response to deficits, or potential deficits that affect Stony Plain's quality of life. The answers to the question are intended to provide a framework for intervention that citizens can use to rationally solve the problems, thereby improving the community's quality of life. Finally, the question is progressive in that the future is always deferred. By focussing on the future and progressive change, communal goals can always be altered, adapted, adjusted and improved to suit the needs or emergent values of the community.

Toby Miller (1993) proposes that the "deferred utopic vision" (p. 76) is, in fact, a central element that helps make social change possible. The visualization of a preferred future, a future that is subject to constant scrutiny and change is primarily a problem of ethical incompleteness. Representations of Stony Plain as a community in decline haunts Stony Plain's community development discourse and motivates concerned citizens to envision, enact and improve upon Stony Plain's preferred futures. The possibility of failure (e.g. the death of Main Street, the loss of small town values, etc.) creates a "conceptual angst" (Miller, 1993, p. 77) around the stability and quality of community that must constantly be assessed and addressed if the community is to remain meaningful, vibrant and progressive for Stony Plain's citizens. Stony Plain's citizens are, therefore conceptualized within the vision of the preferred future as hard-working people, who are proud of their heritage and current quality of life but motivated to plan (e.g. adopt a Main Street rejuvenation program, pursue tourism through *Community Tourism Action Plan*), work (e.g. renovate Main Street, implement the Outdoor Gallery/mural program) and progress/change (e.g. continually investigate and adopt other programs and strategies: *Communities in Bloom*, *Pitch-In Canada*, Great White North Triathalon, Cowboy Poetry Festival, etc.) toward an even better future, an even better form of community.

Image generation, therefore, serves a significant pedagogic role within community development. Image generation manages ethical incompleteness by working to align private and public concern as a means of generating social change. Representations of preferred future work on Stony Plain's citizens by reinforcing the ideas of mutual responsibility, shared values and common purpose. Civic pride and responsibility is further reinforced by physical transformations (e.g. Main Street rejuvenation and the Outdoor Gallery) and social mobilization (e.g. volunteerism) that are thought to be indicative of Stony Plain's positive quality of life. It is rational to assume then that concerned citizens will want to work toward successfully realizing Stony Plain's communal destiny (a destiny in which they can individually expect to live the good life).

Building capacity and support

The preceding steps[53] of the inside-out model (meaning, leadership, preferred future and communal image) have, in large part, addressed how community development models set the social conditions and community values that are privileged within Stony Plain's conceptualization of community and good citizenship. In this next section, I speak to how quality of life is pro-actively[54] instituted by building capacity and support. "Capacity" can be defined as "the ability to enhance and support people with specific strengths. This includes those with creative ideas, that when mobilized, will add value to the community" (Day,

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[53] Although, I have presented Stony Plain's inside-out community development model in "steps", it is important to note that the process/model is not necessarily linear. There is a creative and dynamic interplay within community development processes.

[54] I want to qualify the term "pro-actively". Often the conditions/values that influence community are not conceived as active elements is social change. The foundational values attributed to community are popularly conceived as natural phenomena and not as dynamic elements that help to constitute social relationships. Active intervention is assigned to tangible social interactions like formal teaching, networking, leadership training and/or policy institution.

1999, p. 4). "Support" refers to the institution of "policies and procedures" that "support and enhance the strengths of community members rather than serve as a barrier to growth and development" (p. 5).

Career development

Stony Plain's inside-out community development model builds capacity by focusing on Stony Plain's human resources via career development interventions. Career development was chosen as a strategy for intervention because it appears to reflect Stony Plain's small town, small business, and people -centred focus. Career development was regarded as a useful tool because it focussed on how individuals change in order to create new job or business opportunities for themselves (Day, 1999). Successful transitions (i.e. people who successfully created new businesses or got new jobs) were accomplished through a process of networking, co-operative partnerships and volunteerism. People, who successfully networked, discovered new business contacts, sources of private and governmental support, markets for products and services, and new (potentially) useful information. In order to facilitate networking opportunities for local residents, the task force compiled an index of people along with their interests, skills sets, jobs, and/or businesses, and, a list of governmental, private and organizational resources. This information was then made available to interested people, or used when particular opportunities presented themselves. For example, a local citizen, Bud Hoffman (vice-president of the Alberta Motor Association, member of *Community Tourism Action Plan* committee, and a resident of Stony Plain) was familiar with Chemainus, British Columbia's mural program. Hoffman suggested a similar program would work in

Stony Plain and provide for the town's tourism objectives and quality of life initiatives. Hoffman and the *Community Tourism Action Plan* committee used the career developmental approach to implement the mural program as a pilot project. They used the index to identify and approach local painters, private businesses (for mural space, and donations of money, goods or services), and available governmental resources (Day, 1999). In this way, the career development model facilitated Stony Plain's tourism development by training people to recognize opportunities and develop productive community-oriented partnerships.[55]

Main Street, Community Tourism Action Plan and museums

The inside-out community development process helped the task force to identify and mobilize human resources within Stony Plain and surrounding area. The agricultural and crafts sectors were identified as two major sectors that provided employment to local people. The agricultural sector, in particular, received special consideration because Stony Plain serviced a large agricultural district and the Heritage Agricultural Society's Multicultural Heritage Centre attracted between 80 000 and 100 000 visitors to Stony Plain per year (Pannell Kerr Foster, 1989). In addition, a strong crafts community supported a number of art galleries (including one operated by the Heritage Agricultural Society) and sponsored several annual cultural events that drew visitors to the area. The identification of these two sectors, as well as Alberta government sponsorship of tourism initiatives encouraged Stony Plain's concerned citizens to pursue tourism, generally and heritage-based tourism, specifically.

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[55] Much of the language used within Stony Plain's community development discourse reflects themes of partnership, co-operation, solidarity, encouragement, and self-help. The choice of language is an important pedagogic tool because it links the fortunes of the community to a supportive citizenry. Communal success is dependent upon support of all people.

Main Street

As I suggested earlier (p. 27), heritage-based tourism was particularly well received because it was believed to reflect Stony Plain's traditional values and could be mobilized to enhance Stony Plain's quality of life. The Business Revitalization Zone tax levy (implemented to renovate Main Street and the downtown core) was perhaps Stony Plain's first significant deployment of policies and procedures as a way of effecting tourism-directed/quality of life generating change. Business Revitalization Zone taxation was coupled with Stony Plain's regular tax funds. The money was used to hire a design consultant and a downtown business consultant who then devised the heritage Main Street theme, as well as provide the funds to implement the architectural and landscape changes to public space, sidewalks, boulevards, and so forth.

Partnership between the municipal government and Main Street business was deemed to be central to the successful implementation of Main Street rejuvenation. The role of the municipal government was to apply the 1920s agricultural theme to public spaces and to increase pedestrian traffic via bi-law implementation (e.g. adding 4-ways stops to slow vehicular traffic and encourage drivers to park and walk). Downtown business owners reciprocated municipal generosity by implementing changes of their own. As such, downtown businesses were encouraged (by the municipality, the consultants, the Chamber of Commerce, and conforming downtown businesses) to conform to the heritage-themed changes.

Changes included adopting uniformed business hours, co-operative advertising and re-decorating buildings to reflect the heritage theme.

In conjunction with policy and partnership initiatives, coercion served as a mechanism for Main Street rejuvenation/compliance. The most costly expense incurred by private businesses was the renovations to upgrade buildings to reflect the 1920s agricultural theme. After the municipality and many private businesses had finished the theme-based renovations, non-conforming businesses were encouraged (shamed) to participate via a series of public articles published in the local newspaper. For example, in an article entitled, “Renovations up to Merchants” (“Renovations”, 1988), citizens were informed that there was no longer “Town money for downtown business improvements” (p. A8). Instead, the municipality would provide access to the design consultant and the Heritage Agricultural Society would provide archival photos of Main Street buildings for historical reference, but, “basically, it [was] up to individual businesses to choose how to redecorate and decide how much they [were] willing to spend” (p. A9). Design consultant, Gil Rekken, encouraged (non-conforming) businesses to support the new heritage image of Main Street by suggesting that re-decoration/conformity/participation need not be expensive: “[I]t could be something as base as the right type of sign, storefront or paint scheme” (p. A9).

Conformity and failure

Community development is situated as a rational form of social engineering that has the potential to benefit all of the people in the community. Since community development projects are represented as benefiting the entire community, it becomes reasonable to assume that everyone will naturally want to participate. Communal prosperity and private prosperity are inextricably linked within community development discourse, therefore individual citizens put the community's and potentially their own comfort, prosperity and fulfilment at risk when they "choose" not to support development initiatives. Barrie Day (1999) suggests "the action planning strategy that unfolds from the exercise [of establishing a vision of the preferred future] provides citizens with the opportunity to 'fit' into the preferred future" (p. 3). Participation in community development is represented as optional, but there is a lot at stake in realizing full participation in Stony Plain's community development initiatives. As the Main Street renovation example suggests, participation is represented as an option but at the same time, non-conformists are persuaded to participate by being reminded of the reasonableness and usefulness of the request. In effect, however, the image of Stony Plain as a co-operative, supportive community is jeopardized by the existence/visible-ness of non-heritage themed business façades.

Community Tourism Action Plan

Community Tourism Action Plan is represented, within the inside-out community development model, as a program that could "support" Stony Plain's quality of life goals by building on the community's tourism ambitions. The

Community Tourism Action Plan also employed a citizen focus (public consultation process) to determine Stony Plain's tourism resources and tourism priorities; and, to develop a tourism action plan. The *Community Tourism Action Plan* committee identified "36 goals" and "165 action steps" ("Action plan", 1988, p. A1) that would assist Stony Plain citizens reach their tourism development goals. Although, Stony Plain's *Community Tourism Action Plan* process identified a number of potential tourism opportunities (e.g. sport and natural resource tourism), heritage tourism was identified as the focal attraction that reflected Stony Plain's "excellent and unique" (p. A10) qualities. The committee applied to and received $200 000, from the provincially funded *Community Tourism Action Plan* program, to develop heritage tourism via an Outdoor Gallery/mural program. The Outdoor Gallery enhanced Stony Plain's community development potential by building on the popularity and success of Stony Plain's existing heritage infrastructure (Multicultural Heritage Centre and Main Street).

The *Community Tourism Action Plan* process was particularly instrumental in directing public concern toward tourism; and, situating civic pride in the display of Stony Plain's heritage identity. The *Community Tourism Action Plan* public consultation meetings, were followed by public representations of committee findings; but, more importantly the adoption of the tourism action plan resulted in wide spread appeals by the Town, the Chamber of Commerce and the *Community Tourism Action Plan* committee for public support. For example, the adoption of *Community Tourism Action Plan* prompted Mayor Kotch (1988b) to extol tourism benefits and the needs for communal support:

> Tourism can benefit all residents of Stony Plain. We all have a stake in making our community an attractive place to visit and a friendly place to live and to do business. We take pride in making visitors feel welcome. I am confident that with the careful use of the new funding program that service for residents and tourists can be further improved and that Stony Plain will be a regional leader in the emerging tourism industry.
>
> **Participation! Do It for Stony Plain** (Kotch, 1988b, p. 4, emphasis in original).

Indeed, for the next two years, most municipally sponsored public information[56] was followed by the slogan **Participation! Do It for Stony Plain**.

Museums

Community Tourism Action Plan's sponsorship of the mural program and transformation of Stony Plain's downtown core into a "giant outdoor museum" did support Stony Plain's tourism potential, by "encouraging tourists and visitors to town with an attraction that is "always open" (Murals Committee, 2001, p. 2). But, more importantly, the mural program/Outdoor Gallery supported Stony Plain's tourism and community development ambitions by inculcating civic pride and communal obligation[57] within Stony Plain's citizens through a process of "museumification" (Ashworth, 1998). The Outdoor Gallery and Main Street renewal are examples of museumification of public space. Museumification involves the use of museum forms, processes and representational practices in contexts that exist outside of the museum institution proper, but uses the museum's historical role as cultural technology to help shape public identity and civility.

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[56] The slogan, "Participation! Do it for Stony Plain" appeared in weekly "From the mayor's desk" section of the *Stony Plain Reporter*, in volunteer recruitment advertisements, and so forth.

[57] For instance, the mural program's mission statement outlines Stony Plain's citizenship-building goals: "[p]reserving and celebrating our heritage by depicting the rich history of our community through outdoor visual arts (murals, sculptures or related visual arts)" and "[i]nstilling a sense of civic pride in the town residents and particularly in the youth of our community" (Murals Committee, 2001, p. 2).

Historically, public museums and art galleries emerged in the early nineteenth century as cultural technologies whose expressed duties were to make cultural display and visual arts agents of civilizing discipline (Miller, 1993). Ludmilla Jordanova (1989) explains the civilizing aspect of the museums. The collection and display of cultural artefacts in traditional museums and galleries necessitate selection and exclusion. These procedures of selection, exclusion and display enable certain visions and representations of culture to emerge. Conceptions of proper social order, value and truth are legitimated within the museum's representational practices. These social and cultural portrayals are coercive in that they tell museum visitors about what was, what is and what should be in seemingly realistic, transparent ways. The "sense" of "unmediated vision" (Jordanova, 1989, p. 32) that museums and galleries represent makes them potent social institutions, lending credence and legitimacy to the knowledge they represent.

Museumification is "the shift in the function (and in some cases, in the form as well) of artefacts, spaces, buildings and elements that has occurred on purpose - in order to transform the meaning of the conserved schemata or/and use the conserved schemata as tourist/economic resources" (Gospodini, 2002, p. 23-24). Museumification imprints identity (e.g. nationalism, community, ethnic affiliation, etc.) on conserved or manufactured urban forms, and attempts to build off of or/and sometimes manufacture unique place identity[58] by appealing to and representing a locale's history or heritage. Museumification, therefore, has become an influential mechanism of contemporary urban redesign (Lord, 2000) and social engineering within community development discourses. Indeed, art and museum-based community development initiatives are credited with the ability to resolve complex economic and social problems by

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[58] Ashworth (1998) argues, and I concur, that the museumefication process has become so pervasive and standardized that it is difficult for museified space and built heritage to meaningfully represent place identity. For example, mural programs featuring local heritage is a common form of community development in Canada and the United States. Murals are painted to represent similar themes (commerce, settlement, multiculturalism and local heroes) and, often sponsoring communities hire the same artists. See: www.muralroutes.com for a list of and links to some communities that sponsor mural programs.

> inducing considerable economic growth and industrial activity, ...provid[ing] the impetus to reverse plummeting trends in urban economic fortunes....eas[ing] social pressures and tension by providing people with creative and constructive outlets for their leisure time...[and] Finally, ...arts offer the most effective means of dealing with environmental deterioration, visual and aural pollution, and downtown decay. There is simply no substitute for the sense of satisfaction that comes from aesthetic pride of place (Schafer in Alberta Community Development, 2001).

The Alberta Government's Community Development department lauded Stony Plain's institution of the mural program/outdoor gallery. Alberta Community Development used Stony Plain as a leading example of how arts-based community development (museumification) could be used to create tourism potential, improve citizenship and make better, more beautiful communities. The representation of Stony Plain's "unique and colourful history and people" increased "community spirit and pride", "decreased vandalism[,] and increased tourism" (Alberta Community Development, 2001).

The physical and visual nature of museumification plays a powerful role in social engineering. The transformation and organization of physical space (e.g. as 1920s Main Street or as outdoor art gallery) becomes a persuasive symbol of the good community, a high quality of life, and/or of active citizenship. In this manner, the communal image generated through the effective display of beautified and/or historicized public space works to both effect and reflect conceptions of proper communal pride, as well as legitimate heritage tourism as a form of appropriate communal intervention. For example, Lene Holgersen (1990) of Hamilton, Ontario offered this "bouquet [to] Stony Plain" after seeing the rejuvenation of downtown and the institution of the mural program:

> Having just visited the Town of Stony Plain, after being absent for three years, may I congratulate those responsible for the new "old look" of Stony Plain.
>
> We have just driven across the country and stopped in many small towns and none compare with Stony Plain. The core of Stony Plain has now become the Heart of Town, tying in the heritage of the town and area.
>
> The Multicultural Heritage Centre no longer sits in isolation, but has become part of the town and the many attractions it offers to visitors. I am positive that the tourist visiting Stony Plain will always remember the town and return when possible (Holgersen, 1990, p. 7).

Museumification, as Holgersen's comments suggest, is an effective tool within Stony Plain's community development because it creates intelligible, realistic representations of contemporary Stony Plain's social life and cultural values that people can easily recognize and with which they potentially identify. The museum process and the Main Street display "reproduces what we already seem to know" (Porter, 1996, p. 108) about Stony Plain as a clean, safe, beautiful town inhabited by good, successful, hard-working people.

Holgersen's commentary is important because it identifies Stony Plain's "old 'new look'" as a natural expression of community. The disciplinary processes that produce and regulate these seemingly "natural" expressions of community are either rationalized or rendered invisible through the site/sight of the downtown core. The policy interventions (e.g. Business Revitalization Zone tax, the uniform signage bi-law, the painted wall sign bi-law[59] and the mural policy) that organize, regulate, and standardize Stony Plain's public space and normalize the 1920s/Gallery aesthetic are concealed by the façades of Main Street. Or, if (policy) intervention is recognized, it is rationalized and (as is the case of Holgersen) applauded as a necessary, productive method of improving residents' quality of life by the development of heritage tourism infrastructure. Museumification, therefore, facilitates the alignment of public and private concern through policies and procedures that seemingly benefit both the individual and the community.

Two cases illustrate how museumification works on alignment of public and private concern. First, the uniform signage bi-law (Figures 3-11 and 3-12) was enacted to publicly denote Stony Plain's heritage infrastructure. Upon seeing a green, timber-framed sign, tourists and citizens would recognize the sign and its location as a sight/site of tourism interest or municipal concern. The standardization of signage, however, also worked on Stony Plain's public by privileging a tourism/display-based aesthetic. Visual standardization made Stony Plain's public space look/be appealing, orderly and clean; and, reinforced the idea of downtown Stony Plain as real gallery space that displayed the community's fine art (Hatton, 1990). The visual emphasis of Stony Plain's tourism ambition placed significant aesthetic value on orderliness and cleanliness as both matters of public concern, and as the true reflection of Stony Plain as a good community.

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[59] The painted wall sign bi-law is a bi-law directed at preserving the integrity of public space and the standards of the mural program. This bi-law is directed at business and individuals who might use mural-like painting for advertisements. The prevalence of such signs is thought to compromise the integrity of the mural program and is therefore strictly regulated.

The orderliness and cleanliness that came to define Stony Plain's downtown core and mural program, in turn, came to influence a broader public aesthetic. The visual aesthetic crept into public space in the suburbs, and influenced visual display of private homes and gardens. If unsightly/unsite-ly displays did emerge to disrupt the visual aesthetic and threatened gallery-like displays of community, Stony Plain's concerned citizens intervened by reinforcing appropriate display etiquette and re-establishing the visual and social order. For example, many residents advertised yard sales by placing small signs at the roadside entrances into housing subdivisions. On many weekends, there would be many[60] little signs dotting the roadside. Concerned citizens began to complain (via letters to the editor) about the unsightly displays that ruined Stony Plain's otherwise beautiful public spaces. As a result, the public was notified (via the Town-sponsored advertisements to clean the boulevards and not post signs. In addition, the Town and its partners (e.g. service organizations) erected large green, timber-framed public notice boards upon which people could advertise yard sales and other items of interest (Figure 3-14)

Second, the mural policy[61] was developed to ensure accurate representation of Stony Plain's heritage/communal foundations within the mural program. Suitability for inclusion in the Outdoor Gallery is based on a mural's ability to "be an authentic depiction of events and persons (living or dead) who have contributed to Stony Plain regional historic or cultural heritage" (Mural Committee, 2001, p. ii,

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[60] For example, one time, I counted twenty-four yard sale signs at the entrance to the subdivision I was living in.

[61] The mural policy is quite extensive. It addresses artistic quality, site selection, committee membership, mural sponsorship, location guidelines, artist payment, etc. Each one of these items has potential to impact public concern and citizenship training, but I have chosen to use authenticity as an example of museumification and public concern.

6). In this instance, the museum's representational authority operates to bolster Stony Plain's communal identity and public image by appearing to represent only "authentic", accurate, true accounts of Stony Plain's people and history. The rigorous mural selection process is employed to substantiate the representations as real, "significant" (tourist worthy) art (Hatton, 1990, p. 49) as well as, reinforce conceptions of Stony Plain as a "strong, vibrant community [that] respect[s] our heritage, embrace[s] the present and [is] excited about our future" (Town of Stony Plain, 2003, p. 1). In order to ensure the integrity of the program and the representation of the community, mural artists must work within the parameters of sanctioned mural themes, examine archival photos and historical material, develop and submit models to the mural committee for scrutiny, incorporate committee feedback into revised models, and finally, heed the advice of helpful, local senior citizens[62]. This complex process helps the "artists get it right" (Larmour, 1999, p. 10).

Stony Plain's mural policy, procedures, and policing (by concerned citizens) are represented as elements that guarantee the quality of the murals as well as the legitimacy of the mural content. The impetus to "get it right" however speaks more to the desire (of concerned citizens) that the community, its citizens, and its history be represented in a positive, productive light (i.e. represent contemporary Stony Plain's commitment to quality of life, and harmonious social relationships). The visual production of Stony Plain becomes the measure of character for both citizens and the community. The mural guidelines and policing process negate any of Stony Plain's historical contradictions and censors socially unpalatable topics. Instead, the murals represent an "authentic" Stony Plain through largely sanitized, celebratory, transhistoric themes, like: community, settlement, progress, wealth, multiculturalism, childhood, citizenship and so forth. The mural, *Strong arm of the law* (Driediger, 1990), for example, depicts and celebrates responsible, (publicly concerned) citizenship. The mural represents the heroic efforts of the local hero (Sheriff Israel Umbach) as he fights (locks the train to the tracks) for justice (the collection of much needed local land taxes) against a large, uncaring, Eastern-based company (Canadian Northern Railway Company) (Figure 3-15)[63].

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[62] Mural artists receive a lot of public attention as they paint. Curious on lookers talk to mural artists. Much of the talk is friendly banter, but there is a significant amount of content policing from on lookers. Local seniors often are responsible for making sure that the murals do not expose controversial aspects of local heritage, or unflattering depictions of local people.

The mural program builds on the inside-out community development model's objective of (re) inscribing core values by, "[i]nstilling a sense of civic pride in the town residents and particularly in the youth of our community" (Murals Committee, 2001, p. 2). The careful control of mural content, public space and aesthetic style by Stony Plain's citizens is an example of this "civic pride" in action. Indeed, as the impetus of citizens to "get it right" might suggest, Stony Plain's concerned citizens are more than willing to take part in (make adjustments to themselves and their behaviours) and find fulfilment in the town's community development endeavours. The control that Stony Plain's citizens' exercise in the production, representation and display of their civic pride is part of what Foucault

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[63] Missing from the celebratory public image of Israel Umbach's heroic stand, are some of the more personal accounts of the incident. For example, Umbach's daughter does not recount the chaining of the train to the rail, as a heroic triumph. Instead, she represents the incident as the catalyst of a major dispute between her mother and father. The argument was about what constituted appropriate public/civil behaviour. Mrs. Umbach believed Israel was showboating for his friends, and was not taking the proper course of action to resolve the tax conflict in an appropriate manner ("Heritage corner", 1988).

(1993) termed “technologies of the self”. Technologies of the self are “specific practices by which subjects constitute themselves as subjects within and through systems of power, and which often seem to be either natural or imposed from above” (*Foucault Dictionary Project*, n.d.). In this sense, although Stony Plain’s inside-out community development process is largely sponsored through municipal government training and initiatives, Stony Plain’s concerned citizens do not necessarily regard their participation in heritage-based tourism and community development as an imposition. Instead, the community development initiatives and accompanying citizenship training have helped to make Stony Plain’s concerned citizens. These citizens exercise power within, achieve private fulfilment from, and express civic pride through Stony Plain’s community, community development and heritage programs.

Stony Plain’s inside-out community development process has helped to make Stony Plain into a successful heritage-based tourism community; and, it has trained citizens to support and find meaning within the community’s tourism and community development objectives. The generation of a viable tourism industry as well as the generation of civic pride and communal belonging through tourism situate community development as a “good thing”[64]. Community development is not perceived to be a violent process, because the changes it tries to achieve are regarded as beneficial, rational and productive for the whole community. In the next, section I consider the idea of community development as a violent process.

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[64] My apologies to Martha Stewart.

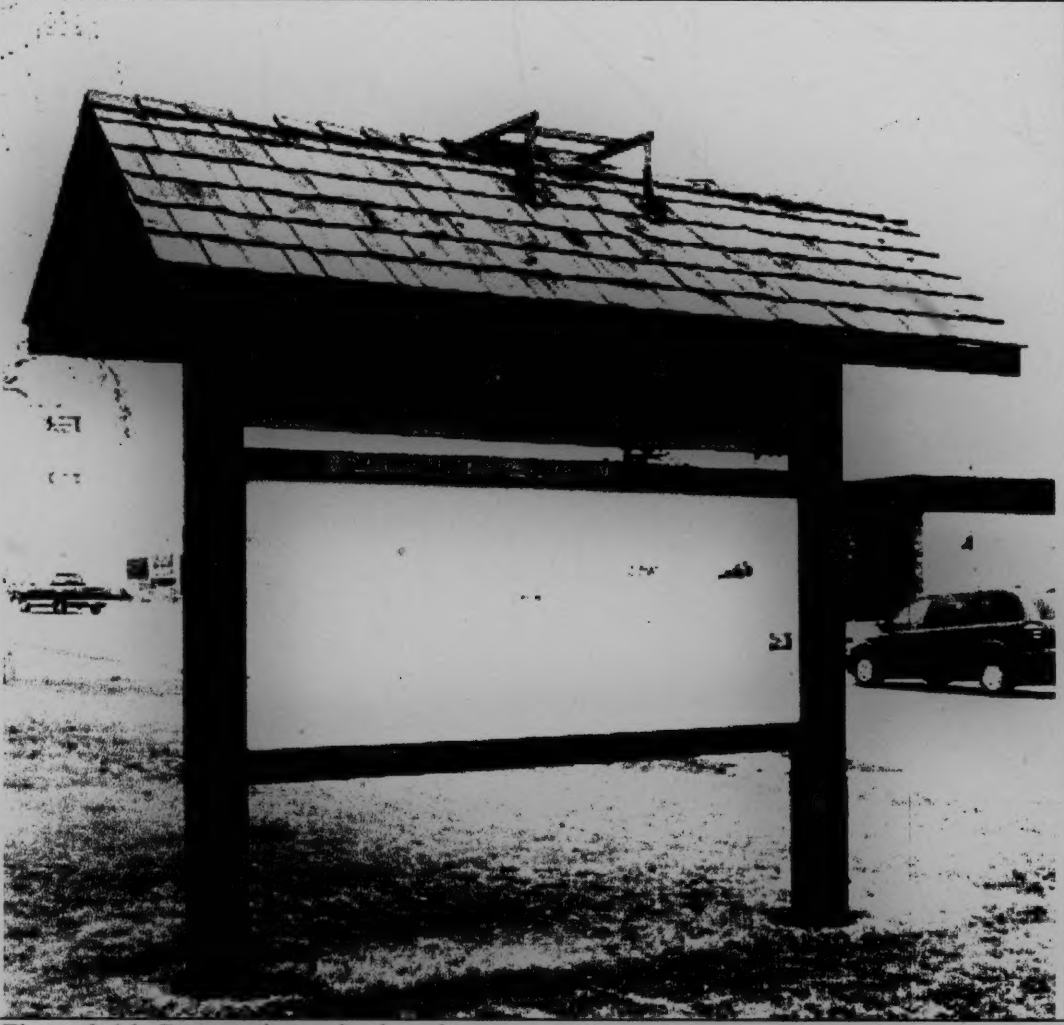

Figure 3-14. Community notice board

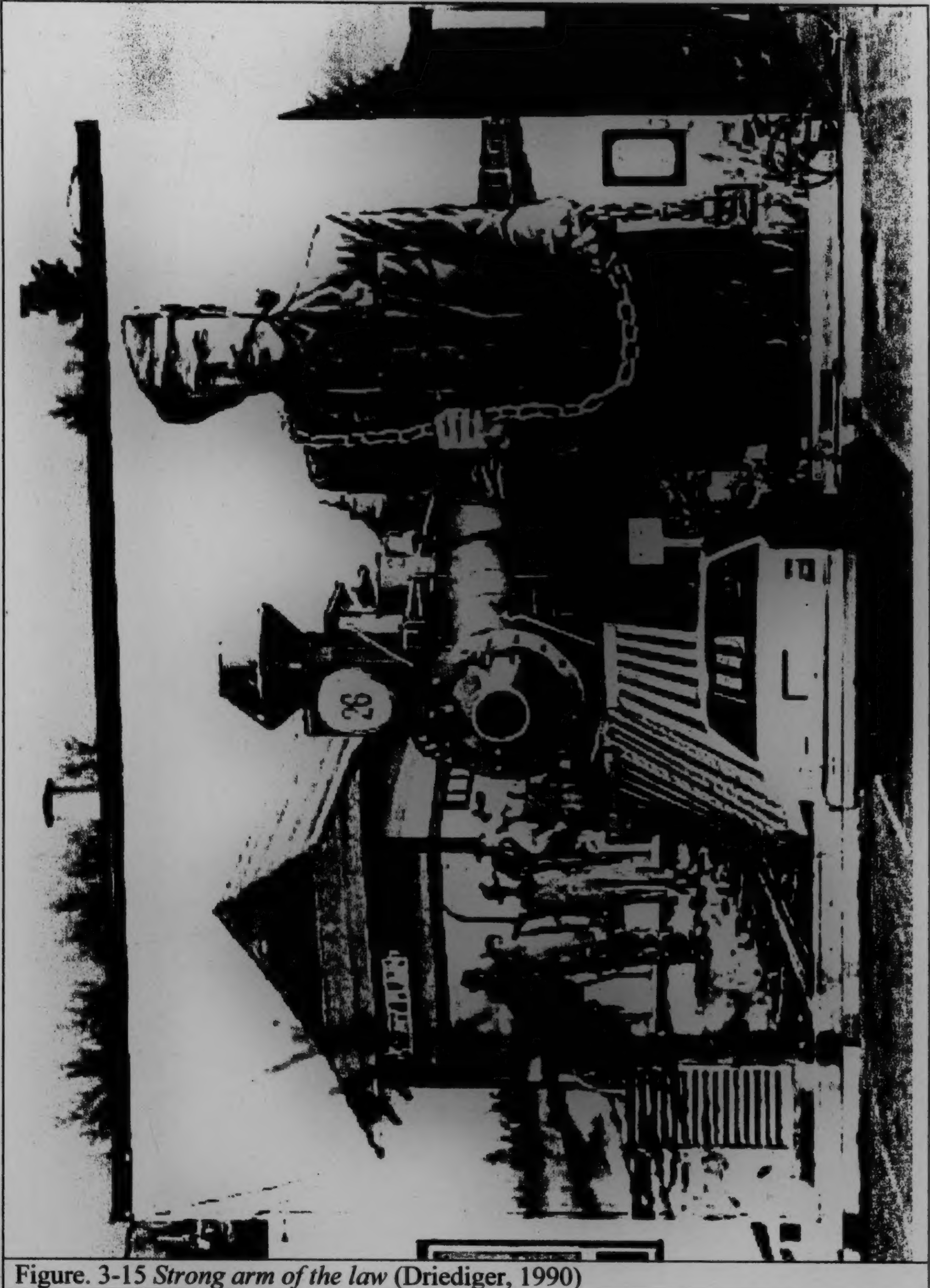

Figure. 3-15 *Strong arm of the law* (Driediger, 1990)

Bloomin' Proud: Violence, rationality, constraint, and freedom?

Stony Plain's involvement in the *Communities in Bloom* program is particularly useful for exploring the idea of community development as a potentially violent social process. I am interested in the tension/violence that community development discourses may produce in the relationship between publicly and privately concerned citizens/selves. In particular, I am interested in the rationalized violence, or rationalized "community comes first" response that often emerges when communal and private interests conflict. The onus for social change, burden for perceived public failure, and/or the responsibilities for personal success or failure are often placed on the individual within discourses of community development.

Stony Plain's participation and eventual national championship win of *Communities in Bloom* is heralded as the triumph of Stony Plain's public involvement and civic pride, and is often represented as the fulfilment of Stony Plain's true communal nature (Gossen, 2000b; Hipfner, 2000). The 2000 *Communities in Bloom* national championship functioned as evidence that Stony Plain had absolutely "[got] it[65] right". The *Communities in Bloom* committee thank-you letter tells the story of Stony Plain's communal triumph:

> The Communities in Bloom committee would like to thank residents and sponsors for your assistance in making Stony Plain a national Communities in Bloom winner.
>
> The high standard that was accomplished to enable the town to achieve this prestigious award would not have been possible without sponsorship and community participation.
>
> The goal of Communities in Bloom is to embrace people and plants with pride, flowering together. The Town of Stony Plain and

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[65] The "it" being referred to here is Stony Plain as the "beautiful, good community" (whose citizen's public and private concern resonates).

> Communities in Bloom committee applaud the residents, businesses and volunteers for accomplishing this goal to the highest national standard.
>
> This award will also draw tourists, potential residents and eager business clients to our warm, friendly and unique community.
>
> Ron Hipfner, Chairperson, Communities in Bloom Committee (Hipfner, 2000, p.6).

Hipfner's letter speaks of communal participation and broad base public support for Stony Plain's involvement in *Communities in Bloom*. It is difficult to read this letter and recognize violence or the threat of violence as an instrument that produces Stony Plain's *Communities in Bloom* win or motivates Stony Plain's citizens to participate in community development processes.

Community development is not often recognized as a mechanism of social violence. Reason is believed to govern the productive, mutually supporting relationship between the individual and the community. In the reasonable relationship between public and private concern, community development initiatives[66] are perceived as rational instruments of social change because it is rationalized as a system that will produce beneficial outcomes for both private and public concern. Stony Plain's 2000 *Communities in Bloom* committee therefore instituted procedures that reasonable citizens would understand, accept and follow in order to address Stony Plain's past *Communities in Bloom* deficiencies[67] and produce the 2000 campaign's desired outcome of a national championship win. The institution of the following procedures were initiated as reasonable and responsible public interventions:

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[66] I am indebted to Oakes, Townley, and Cooper's (1998) discussion of the business planning process within Alberta's museum restructuring of the 1980s-1990s. Alberta's neo-conservative community development initiatives operate within a similar logic to that of its business planning process.

[67] The 1997 *Communities in Bloom* deficiencies were: "community spirit, heritage and community involvement" (Gossen, 2000a, p. A3).

- Attainment of corporate and private sponsorship
- Public campaigns advertising Stony Plain's involvement in *Communities in Bloom* and the importance of *Communities in Bloom* to Stony Plain's tourism industry, as well as civic pride
- Public campaigns advertising gardening tips
- Recruitment of volunteers (weeding of public spaces, garden plots, and so forth)
- Increased garbage pickups (particularly yard waste) for residential and business properties
- Increased street cleaning by civic employees
- Increased bi-law enforcement for property infractions
- Organization and deployment of volunteer groups to help local bi-law enforcement notify property owners of delinquent, unsightly properties
- Recruitment of service organizations, school children, and interested individuals for public clean up duties
- Organization of "Helping Hands"[68] to help the elderly or infirm beautify their properties
- Sponsorship of a children's "banner contest"[69]
- Sponsorship and administration of "Adopt a barrel program"[70] [71]

Even though many of the procedures Stony Plain implemented appear to constrain individual behaviours, they are productive constraints/limits for Stony Plain's publicly concerned citizens who support the town's community development ambitions[72]. These constraints enable Stony Plain's *Communities in Bloom* committee to mobilize Stony Plain's citizenry and to transform the town into a (nationally recognized) community in bloom. Indeed, the communal results that are generated by these procedures often legitimate, reassert publicly concerned rationality, and/or excuse any limit(s) that may appear oppressive. The intersection of productive constraints and the rationalization of these constraints are important to understanding both the potential for violence and the (mis)recognition of the kinds of violence that are produced within community development discourses.

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[68] "Helping Hands" is the *Communities in Bloom* volunteer recruitment program.

[69] The contest involved children who painted colourful, *Communities in Bloom* and heritage inspired banners. The banners contained Stony Plain's *Communities in Bloom* logo (sunflowers). After the contest, the banners were displayed on light standards throughout Stony Plain.

[70] "Adopt a barrel program" targeted businesses. It encouraged businesses to sponsor a barrel/ planter of flowers that could place at the respective business's storefront.

[71] The preceding information was appeared in the following articles: Adams, 2000, p.3; Barrett, 2000, p. A5; Harlton, 2000, p. A1, A2; Gossen, 2000a, p. A3, 2000b, p. A18-19, 2000c, p. A22; Mah, 2000a, p. A5, 2000b, p. A20, 2000c, p. A4; Nash, 2000, p. A20.

[72] I am indebted to Jon Simons (1995) discussion of "Foucault's work on transgressive limits" (p. 3ff.).

Productive constraints and freedom

In and of themselves, the procedures instituted to build Stony Plain's tourism and *Communities in Bloom* infrastructure are not explicitly violent. Indeed, constraints are productive and even potentially liberating, especially for people who identify, or come to identify as Stony Plain's publicly concerned citizens. Jon Simons (1995) skilfully articulates how constraints/limits are socially productive, and how they can both enable and liberate the social subject. Simons does so by intersecting the work of Michel Foucault with Milan Kundera. Simons explains that a tension exists in much of Foucault's work. On one hand, Simons suggests, Foucault "is often tempted…to depict our present as totally constraining. In this mood, Foucault is a prophet of entrapment who induces despair by indicating that there is no way out of our subjection…[W]e can only replace on domination with another" (Simons, 1995, p. 3). Whilst, on the other hand, Simon conveys, there is a more "affirmative, aesthetic mood" within Foucault's work that speaks of "untrammelled freedom and an escape from all limitations" (p.3). Although these two poles emerge, Simons suggests that Foucault tries to resist the polar allure of either by "adopting unstable positions between them" (p. 3).

It is within these unstable positions between total constraint and limitless freedom that Simons suggests is an important component in generating social and personal meaning for the social subject. At this juncture, Simons turns to the work of Milan Kundera and his conceptualization of "the unbearable lightness of being" (Kundera in Simons, 1995, p. 3). The phrase exposes the purposeful/meaningful tension that emerges from the relationship between conceptualizations of constraint, freedom and meaning. A life without purpose (constraint) would be unbearably light (free). Whereas, "a life entirely bound to a purpose that is experienced as an 'overriding necessity'…would be unbearably heavy" (Simons, 1995, p. 3). "The key" Simons explains, "is to fashion a purpose so that being would be bearably light and heavy" (p.3).

Contemporary community development discourses operate through constraints to produce meaningful social conditions and relationships that liberate the population by enabling people (citizens) to be active participants within a meaningful conception of community. As Nikolas Rose (2000)[73] explains, much neo-liberal governance (of which much contemporary community development is part) is predicated upon a particular conceptualization of the governmental relationship between the individual and community. In terms of the conceptualization of the individual, governance is based in values of social democracy that assigns equality of worth and opportunity to all people. In terms of good governance of the community, there is perceived to be a reciprocal obligation on the part of civil subjects to be responsible for the implementation and control of communal well-being. In this sense, the well-governed community "provide[s] the conditions of the good life" and the good citizen "must deserve to inhabit it (community) by building strong communities and exercising active responsible citizenship" (Rose, 2000, p. 1398). In this light, a subject's freedom or meaningful existence is inextricably linked to the parameters that govern (determine) the maintenance of good communal relationships.

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[73] Rose (2000) uses Tony Blair's Britain as an example of neo-liberal governance, but his example serves well for other political jurisdictions (like Alberta) where the underlying philosophy of governance is motivated by a reciprocal relationship between (individually motivated) self-help and communal responsibility.

In context of Stony Plain's involvement with *Communities in Bloom*, many of Stony Plain's citizens were both motivated by and enabled through the process, and achieved meaningful (civic pride) interaction with their community by participating in *Communities in Bloom*. For example, prior to "judgement day" (Mah, 2000a, p. A5), town superintendent, Brad Schultz praised "[v]olunteers [who] took the time to clean up sections of the community and create flower beds, businesses and organizations [who] donated money, and residents [who] made a real effort to participate" (Gossen, 2000a, p. A3). In fact, the "community bought in[to]" the project so well, Schultz said, that "[A]fter a while so many people wanted to help that the town ran out of things for them to do" (p. A3). The display of civic pride and community involvement continued on judgement day when

> …community involvement in Communities in Bloom covered the entire age spectrum, from playschool children who coloured a special banner for the wrap up barbeque for the judges, to the children… who made a chalk drawing in their crescent based on the sunflower and contest theme, to the Teens in Action,… who helped clean up Main Street. The judges, who spent much of the day travelling throughout Stony Plain by golf cart,…were also given a tour of the murals in a mule pulled wagon supplied by the Early Stage Saloon (Gossen, 2000c, p. A22).

Productive constraints, burden and violence

The wide-scale support for *Communities in Bloom* by many of Stony Plain's citizens suggests that these residents found the process meaningful and achieved private fulfillment within *Communities in Bloom's* publicly concerned mandate of "People, plants and pride, growing together" (www.communitiesinbloom.ca). There were, however, citizens who experienced *Communities in Bloom*, or aspects of the *Communities in Bloom* process as "an 'overriding necessity'" that was "unbearably heavy" (Kundera, in Simons, 1995, p. 3). The rupture between the experience of *Communities in Bloom* as the meaningful realization of civic pride, and its contrary experience as the realization of shame and guilt is indicative of a violence that emerges when that which is believed to enable and liberate encounters that which is different and resistant. Stony Plain's public conceptualization of "community" becomes key to understanding how some citizens experienced *Communities in Bloom* as meaningful whereas others did not.

"Community" becomes the limit within Stony Plain's inside-out community development and 2000 *Communities in Bloom* initiatives. Community as civic pride, civic involvement, beautified public space, shared values, shared vision of the future, shared economic concern, and so forth are the "overriding necessitit[ies]" within Stony Plain's private and public concern. These particular definitions of "community" are very important because they become the meaningful limits through which collective social worth and private meaning in Stony Plain are valued, legitimated and judged. Public involvement, civic pride, harmony and the display of these qualities via representations of beautiful homes, gardens and public space come to define the "good" within Stony Plain's public concern and the "meaningful" within citizens private concern.

The inscription of meaningful community and meaningful citizenship with these qualities come to represent what Jacques Derrida calls the "originary violence" of naming (Derrida in Cornell, 1992, p. 51). Naming, or in this instance defining, community legitimates certain communal standards (civic pride, engagement, beauty, and so forth) but excludes and denigrates that which does not or cannot meet the standards. A letter to the editor from Deb Berg (2000) serves as a poignant illustration of the conflict that emerges when these conceptualizations of good community and good citizenship encounter difference[74]:

> A word of caution to us as a community. As we attempt to be a Community in Bloom we need to not forget to be a community.
>
> As I was visiting a friend the other day, a knock came on the door and she was handed a paper indicating the areas the town felt was neglected in their yard work.
>
> This couldn't have been worse timing. This just added to the layers of current stress in her life. Instead of support from her community, she felt guilt.
>
> I'm sure she is not the only one who is facing difficulty.
>
> Death, divorce, relational, emotional, financial and physical stresses can cause people to feel overwhelmed with keeping up their yard work.
>
> Most of us at one time or another have or will be in this place. Could the town not be a little more proactive in the community part of Community in Bloom by somehow finding a way that does not induce unnecessary guilt or that doesn't take away the dignity of those it affects?
>
> It may mean the need for less pressure or awareness of who our neighbors are. It may mean more emphasis on relational community rather than an over emphasis on the beauty of the town.
>
> A community that focuses on outward beauty without also addressing the inward needs of its members will eventually no longer be able to call itself a community (Berg, 2000, p. A8).

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[74] Please note that the differences that create exclusion, and angst can be/seem (for the reasonable person) quite small and insignificant.

The letter exposes several (inter-related) limits that have implications for configurations of community, community development and citizen participation. First (and as was stated earlier), the community represented within many contemporary community development discourses is predicated upon the assumption of equality and/or equality of opportunity. In an ideal sense then, the rationality of equality can be progressive and enabling (Frazer and Lacey, 1993). It is served by the logic that all people can succeed because they potentially have access to the same social knowledge and material conditions. However, when the ideal of equality within the community is confronted with the recognition or the reality of difference there emerges a paradox that exposes inequality that does exist between social subjects (Frazer and Lacey, 1993). Berg (2000), for example cites " [d]eath, divorce, relational, emotional, financial and physical stresses" (p. 8) as some of the conditions[75] that challenge an individual's ability to participate in Stony Plain's community (in bloom). These limiting conditions can be more meaningful and important to the (different) social subject. The social subject, however, is marginalized within the community (in bloom) by assigning greater value or priority to these competing discourses.

Second, Berg's letter exposes the limit of choice within authoritative/normalized conceptualizations of community. Specifically, Stony Plain's inside-out model of community development and generally, liberal values of individuality, freedom, and individual rights (Frazer and Lacey, 1993) suggest that individuals possess the right/capacity of choice. One can choose to participate, or not in the community. However, what is less apparent in this right to choose is the "constraint under which strategic choice is exercised" (Goodrick and Salanchik, cited in Oakes, Townley & Cooper, 1998, p. 273). The problem that emerges for the person of difference within dominant discourses of community is that "their 'margin of liberty is extremely limited'" (Foucault in Lemke, 2002, p. 5). Choice is constrained by the conditions of difference that exist between social subjects (as was exemplified by my preceding point) as well as the potential for social sanctions and violence that accompany that difference.

---

[75] Berg's list is not an exclusive list. Many discourses (race, sexuality, aesthetic value, and/or age) might limit one's ability to participate within the discourse of Stony Plain as community (in bloom). For example, on an aesthetic level, my neighbour was widely criticized by other neighbours for painting his house pastel green. My neighbour's house disrupted the visual aesthetic that good citizens were trying to achieve by painting their houses "normal colours" (anonymous disgruntled neighbour, personal communication July, 2000).

Community (in bloom) is inscribed with authority and, therefore, legitimates pressure and sanctions against the individual. Under these conditions, the individual is free to choose not to participate, but to choose not to participate means the possibilities of experiencing real (material, social and emotional) sanctions. For example, I, like Berg's friend, received a bi-law notification notice from the Town of Stony Plain on May 25, 2000 (Figure 3-16). I received the notice because my lawn was inhabited by a plethora of dandelions and a few struggling tufts of grass. I had had these dandelions since 1997, when the house was built and still had them in 2003 when I moved. I had not received bi-law notice during any of the prior dandelion seasons, and did not receive any notifications in the subsequent season. Other than the dandelion "problem", I had quite a lovely yard/garden. I had planted a hedge, several fruit trees, and made several raised planters and garden spaces. In 2000, however, "the dandelions and noxious weeds on the land of which

[I was] the owner, agent, lessee or occupier" (Town of Stony Plain, 2000) became a very visual community (in bloom) problem. I was sanctioned to "control [my] dandelions by cutting and spraying with weed killer" within "**(4) four days**" of May 25, 2000 (2000, emphasis in original).

In terms of material sanctions, my freedom to choose to cut or not to cut and spray[76] my dandelions was constrained financially. If I did not comply, I would receive a fine from the municipality. The municipality would also solve my dandelion problem by hiring a lawn maintenance company to spray and cut the dandelions. The municipality would forward costs for the lawn maintenance interventions to me. In terms of social sanctions, I received "gentle reprimands"[77] from several of my neighbours[78] about "the dandelions". I did, consequently, feel somewhat guilty about my dandelions and kept them "under control" by mowing every second day for almost the entire summer. Berg's example and my dandelion example suggest that within the circulation of authoritative discourses, social agents do have choice; however, the choice is constrained by the subjects' willingness and/or ability to challenge and/or receive sanctions. There is, then, tremendous social, emotional and material pressure operating within authoritative discourses that both constrains choice and encourages, cajoles, persuades and coerces social subjects to conform.

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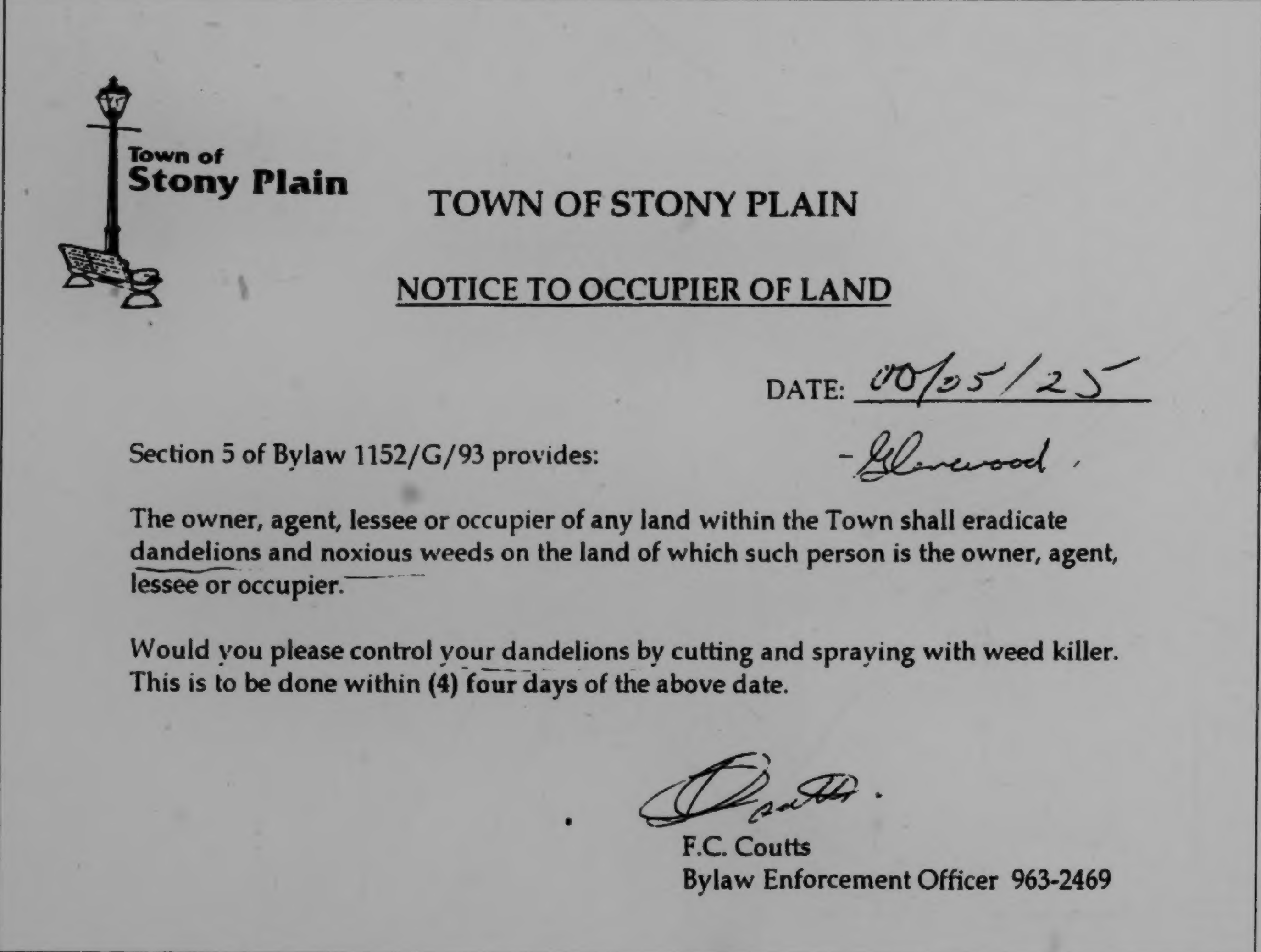
[76] I refused to spray based on environmental reasons. I did however make very public displays of dealing with my dandelions (i.e. digging them up and mowing every second day at around 5:30 – the time my commuter neighbours usually arrived home).

[77] Comment made in personal conversation with neighbour.

[78] Two of my/my lawn's most sincere/harshest critics were neighbours who, not so coincidently, happened to be on the *Community in Bloom's* committee. One also considered my pansies "weeds" because of their ability to self-seed and "propagate like mad" (*Communities in Bloom* neighbour, personal conversation Summer, 2000). I began to call these particular neighbours, the bi-law enforcement officers, and the roaming bands of *Community in Bloom* volunteers, the "Flower Nazis".

Finally, the emergence of difference within community (in bloom) speaks to the problem difference poses to many tourism driven community development programs. If one of the goals of community development is to improve the lives of the citizens, the practice of community development does have to address the problem that difference presents to the community and the conditions through which difference operates. Berg recognizes that visual beauty or appearance of Stony Plain's social space and landscapes does not necessarily make or reflect the diversity that exists within Stony Plain, nor does the process of communal transformation, necessarily respect and dignify social difference. Stony Plain's heritage and *Communities in Bloom* representations produce visually compelling, stylistically homogenous portrayals of shared values, shared public concern and community. These representations and the social procedures that help make them, however, do not necessarily address the real differences (poverty, environmental concern, social status, etc.) that do circulate, influence and create meaning for Stony Plain's diverse citizenry. Instead, there is a homogenization of communal value and space within Stony Plain's community development discourses that restricts the flow of difference.



Town of
Stony Plain

TOWN OF STONY PLAIN

NOTICE TO OCCUPIER OF LAND

DATE: 00/05/25

Section 5 of Bylaw 1152/G/93 provides:

- Glenwood .

The owner, agent, lessee or occupier of any land within the Town shall eradicate dandelions and noxious weeds on the land of which such person is the owner, agent, lessee or occupier.

Would you please control your dandelions by cutting and spraying with weed killer. This is to be done within (4) four days of the above date.

F.C. Coutts
Bylaw Enforcement Officer 963-2469

Figure 3-16 Bi-law notice

Violence of rationality

Deb Berg's letter to the editor generated several public, and not unsurprisingly, official responses. The responses expose, perhaps, one of the most disturbing (although not explicitly)[79] violent aspects of contemporary community development. The response exposes the violence of rationality, that circulates to (re)assert normative, authoritative aspects of community. Instead of honouring, respecting, or even tolerating difference, the dominant/authoritative discourse of community and the voices of publicly concerned citizens who support it operate to (re) align private and public concern within the citizenry:

> "The town has been preparing for this day for a long time now and now it's the public's turn," said Diane Harlton from community development.
>
> "Homeowners are asked to clean up their yards, tidy their gardens and put on their very best front for the judges," she said.
>
> "It's not about having the nicest yard," Harlton said,"but more for pulling together as a community to take pride in Stony Plain (Mah, 2000b, p. 5).

The call for public concern within Stony Plain's *Communities in Bloom* responses are strategically deployed as reasonable and rational requests that benefit both the community and the individual, regardless of the actual social or material effects that these interventions may have on non-conforming individuals. In this way, even though punitive measures may be required to ensure Stony Plain's community (in bloom), disciplinary action and the changes incurred by such action are rationalized in a number of ways. First, discipline is situated as a necessity for the achievement of communal objectives. Second, identification and intervention are iterated as caring, responsible, and beneficial responses to the unfortunate difference that afflicts the offending individual. Finally, difference is rationalized and then solved. In the case of seniors and the disabled, difference is excused and "helping hands" (volunteers) solve the problem. In the cases of the others (who appear to have no reasonable excuse for non-compliance) difference is identified and then fixed through a series of interventions or sanctions:

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[79] The violence is not explicit because identification, intervention and social change are rationalized as reasonable values and behaviours that achieve communal and private benefit.

> The town will send out a committee tomorrow to identify problem areas that still need some work…
>
> Houses whose yards or lawns are deemed too messy will receive notice and be asked to clean it up.
>
> "No one intends to point the finger at anyone," Harlton said, adding that help is available to the elderly and those people who are not physically able to get the work done themselves (Mah, 2000b, p.5).

The rational response from within Stony Plain's *Community in Bloom* project (and by extension from within its inside-out and heritage tourism community development initiatives) to difference is problematic because even as it acknowledges and claims to accept difference, it seeks to normalize and change those who or that which displays (undesirable) difference. The onus for social change and communal harmony become the responsibility of those othered by the dominant discourse of community. Obscuring the challenges faced by people of difference is the apparent ease in which the other could come to be accepted and included in the larger community. The concerns of those who are othered (like Berg, Berg's friend, or me) by *Communities in Bloom* are rendered irrational, in light of the reasonable, small, innocent, inconsequential changes required of them (us).

I return to Miller's (1993) conceptualization of the "well-tempered self". Harlton's cajoling of Stony Plain's citizens is an "exercise in mutability" (ix). In order for Stony Plain's *Community in Bloom* project to be successful, its citizens, public image and visual aesthetic must be "polite" and "coordinated" so that they do "not jar" the senses and offend the sensibilities of the judges and viewing public. The changes Harlton suggests appear inoffensive, reasonable and non-violent given that a national championship and potential "international" (Mah, 2000b, p. 5) competitions are at stake. Like Miller's (1993) account of Bach's "equal temperament" (p. ix) tuning system, Stony Plain's incremental visual tuning makes the community's public image and visual aesthetic equally appealing and consistent. *Communities in Bloom*, as Harlton suggests, is therefore "not about having the nicest yard" (Mah, 2000b, p. 5). It's about not having "houses whose yards or lawns are…too messy", and it's about having Stony Plain's "exceptional yards…seen by the judges" (p. 5). The *Communities in Bloom program* is about Stony Plain's citizens "pulling together" to express "community" and display "pride in Stony Plain" (p. 5). Difference can, therefore, be levelled out, so that Stony Plain collectively fits into the proper conceptualization of the "well-tempered" community (in bloom).

The violence that emerges within Stony Plain's community development discourses is a violence of rationality. The difference, that threatens dominant discourses of community and public concern are rationalized as problems to be solved. Instead of accepting, honouring or even tolerating difference, dominant conceptualizations of community seek to change and incorporate difference to the same. While not wholly oppressive, dominant expressions and experiences of community do limit how the other/the different can operate or resist within community.

Rationality, difference and possibility

The rationalities (of community, shared values, progress, stability, positive interventions, and so forth) that underlie much of contemporary community development are, therefore, productive. The institution of tourism-based community development that is rooted in conceptualizations of community, core values, quality of life and the establishment of a preferred future, has clearly (trans)formed Stony Plain into a viable contemporary tourist attraction and a representative of the good community. But, even though, contemporary community development processes are productive, they are also potentially limiting. Nikolas Rose (2000) explains:

> …rather than recognizing the possibilities and ethical dilemmas presented by contemporary pluralization of cultures and ethics, this [neoliberal] version of the politics of community seeks to foreclose the problems of diversity by propagating a moral code justified by reference to values that purport to be timeless, natural, obvious, and uncontestable (p.1408).

By limiting the circulation of difference, one/communities limit the potential for other possibilities[80] for both individuals and communities.

In conclusion, I speak of the possibility for difference within community development by returning to Main Street, Stony Plain. As I have suggested, much of Stony Plain's heritage-based tourism and community development emerged out of the threat posed by globalized social and economic changes. The rejuvenation of

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[80] I want to remind the reader of Foucault's (1984) notion that "everything is dangerous" (Foucault in Rabinow, 1984, p. 343). The embrace of difference and/or sameness can have unforeseen consequences for social subjects. These consequences might be beneficial, pleasant, unpleasant, and/or contradictory.

Main Street and the institution of the mural program were intended to attract residents and tourists to the downtown core, thereby reasserting Main Street as the "heart" of Stony Plain's community. Since the institution of the Main Street program, Stony Plain's downtown core continues to struggle, particularly within the retail market. There continues to be a high turn over of retail business in Stony Plain's downtown core, although service-oriented businesses (e.g. banks, real-estate, insurance and professionals) tend to survive.

The question, one could ask is, were there and are there other options available to invigorate Stony Plain's downtown core? Are there other possibilities available that would not restrict development to retail or service development or the area (e.g. residential development)? Or, is it plausible to "let that space go", to not try so intensely to manage Main Street and the downtown core back into it's former status as "heart of town"/"heart of the community"? These kinds of questions do not deny public and private concern, instead they open up other ways for people to think about and enact both private and public concern within community development.

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Paper # 3

Many faces, whose heart?: Critically touring Stony Plain's heritage representations of First Nation(s) people

Introduction

In the introduction to a special multicultural edition of the journal, *Atlantis*, Das Gupta and Iacovetta (2000) struggled with the social and political location of First Nations people within conceptualizations of Canadian multiculturalism. One's identity and politics, they remind readers, are situated in complex historical, racial, social, ethnic, and gender[1] relations. Multicultural discourses, however, often rely on concepts of liberal pluralism, which proudly represent Canada as "'nation of immigrants' that offers hardworking newcomers an opportunity to improve themselves, contribute to Canada's rich cultural 'mosaic,' and eventually join the Canadian 'family'" (p. 1). Canada is popularly represented within multiculturalism as a "place where everyone can be 'different' but 'equal'" (p. 1)[2]. First Nations people, however, occupy a perplexing place within this popular conceptualization of multiculturalism. Although dominant visions of Canadian diversity makes room for notions of English Canadian or Quebecois nationalism, and/or, the inclusion of immigrants and refugees, First Nations people are marginalized and their concerns often silenced within mainstream Canadian culture. As Das Gupta and Iacovetta point out, since multiculturalism is predicated upon the immigrant and immigrant cultures, it is therefore also "premised on the exclusion and insubordination of the First Nations" (p. 4).

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[1] This should not be considered an exhaustive list.

[2] I want to make clear that, although Canada is popularly conceived and represented as a multicultural society where everyone is "different" but "equal", it is not. The emergence of the Reform/Alliance/Conservative party (largely "white", financially, socially and religiously conservative) and the emergence of increasingly discriminatory immigration and refugee policies serve as examples of a Canada that is under contestation.

The concerns that Das Gupta and Iacovetta (2000) raise about the marginalization of First Nations within multicultural discourses are important. Multicultural discourses rooted in ideals of "different but equal" are clearly problematic. The appeal to equality in difference conceals historical and power relationships in Canada's nation-building and citizenship processes. To uncritically applaud equality in diversity is to ignore power relationships that operate to include, legitimate and privilege some (e.g. "the white settler society" [p. 1]) while excluding, limiting and hindering others (e.g. "First Nations" [p. 1]). First Nations people have been marginalized and restricted within Canadian nation building discourses since the time of contact. As a result, contemporary First Nations' struggles for self-determination, self-government, the settlement of land claims, and the practice of everyday life must be read through the lens of a dominant social, political and economic system that clearly does not value their difference(s) or recognize them as equal(s)[3].

Although the circulation of multicultural sentiment (all Canadians being "different but equal") is potentially ideologically appealing, the popular deployment of "different but equal" has significant implications for First Nations advocates and activists. Of central concern, is that First Nations concerns are dismissed, depoliticised, silenced and/or appropriated through the transmission of largely uncritical or celebratory multicultural discourses and representations (Akiwenzie-Damm, 1996; Das Gupta & Iacovetta, 2000; Day, 1998; Graveline, 1999). Complicating the problem that multicultural rhetoric poses to politicization of difference (for people of difference, generally, and for First Nations, specifically) and the creation of social change is the growing interest in heritage and heritage-based tourism.

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[3] One must recognize the diversity of First Nations cultures as well. Different Nations have distinct cultural traditions and particular social and political priorities.

Heritage, heritage representation, and heritage-based tourism have become significant elements within both the national as well as provincial cultural landscapes. Underpinning much of this heritage development, especially within small regional museum and heritage site development, is a multicultural sentiment. In Alberta (since the mid-1980s), there has been a proliferation of heritage-based museums and tourist sites that purportedly speak to visitors about what it means to have one's identity or heritage historically rooted within Alberta (Hurt, 1994). Indeed, many of the stories told in small regional museums and heritage sites are about how hardy European pioneers overcame severe environmental, financial and social hardships to carve stable, productive communities out of the vast wilderness. The cultural diversity of settlers is celebrated as a vital component of contemporary Canadian culture. For example, the Town of Stony Plain, Alberta[4] honoured the tenth year of its multicultural heritage-themed mural program by declaring:

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[4] In the early 1990s, the town of Stony Plain, Alberta began to vigorously pursue heritage-based tourism through a comprehensive process of museumification (Ashworth, 1998) that includes the production of heritage-themed urban renewal and public art (murals, sculptures or other visual art) (Murals Committee, 2001). The downtown core of Stony Plain is renovated to reflect a 1920s prairie agricultural motif. As well, building walls in the downtown core act as gallery space to display Stony Plain's multicultural heritage through a growing collection of murals. Multiculturalism underpins Stony Plain's heritage representations, and representations of two local First Nations serve as perhaps the most visible signifiers of Stony Plain's multicultural past.

Traditions

> The rich multicultural texture that makes Canada such a distinctive place in which to live is vividly evident in Stony Plain. The cultural diversity and traditions that pioneers brought with them have provided our community with a deep and timeless bond of unity and harmony (Town of Stony Plain, 2001, p. 5, emphasis in original).

In light of Das Gupta and Iacovetta's (2000) concerns about the disconcerting place First Nations people occupy within discourses of multiculturalism, the deployment of multicultural heritage representations is potentially quite problematic. Uncritical, celebratory representations of multicultural heritage (i.e. we are all "equal but different") do not necessarily recognize historically rooted and institutionalized inequity (i.e. racism, racist policy and representation) that defines citizenship and privilege in Canada, and/or challenge how these inequities continue to shape, constrain and influence struggles for social change, inclusion and justice that are a daily reality for contemporary First Nations' people.

In this paper, I complicate the use of First Nations' images within Stony Plain's multicultural heritage representations. I do this by taking readers on a brief tour of Stony Plain's murals that feature images of local Stoney and Cree First Nations people. The intent of this mural tour is to read these murals critically and challenge the problematic assumption that we are "different but equal". I (hope to) historicize, expose, and politicize[5] Stony Plain's popular (dominant) representations of First Nations people.

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[5] I do not intend to speak for, or on behalf of First Nations people or claim that the critique I offer is the definitive critique of heritage-themed public art. Instead, my hope is that this kind of critique lends to a growing body of academic and educational work that takes the politics of identity and representation as a matter of serious concern for work on citizenship, tolerance and social justice.

The tour will focus on four murals. The first stop on the tour is *The First People* (Langeveld, 1992). At this representation, I examine the role that romantic imagery has in making "the Indian" (Francis, 2000) known to/within dominant culture. In particular, I use the work of Paul Kane and Frederick Arthur Verner to both frame the relationship between romantic Indian imagery and the concept of the "vanishing" Indian and, the contemporary implications of this coupling.

Our tour continues with a visit to *Pride in agriculture* (Fantini, 1999). At this stop, I speak to the making of the Plain's Indian Chief image. The image of the Chief is pervasive in Stony Plain's mural project. I speak to how the representation of the Indian Chief: symbolizes the Canadian (and American) West; serves as a mark and measure for settlement progress; and, serves as a visual indicator of cultural difference/multicultural other within Stony Plain's heritage mural project.

The third mural examined is *The evolution of electricity* (Wei, 1999). Here, I address how context operates as a mechanism to frame how one reads heritage sites/sights and representations. I foreground several different contexts through which *The evolution of electricity* and the images of the Stoney/Indian Chiefs can be read, in order to complicate representational and reading practices; and, to speak to the possibility of framing the Stoney image through a non-traditional context, thereby opening up the possibility of other/different reads.

Our mural tour concludes at *Many faces, one heart* (Heimdal, 1991), and questions how multicultural representations can be racist. Specifically, I argue that multicultural representations are situated within colonial constructs of Canada, and particularly Western Canada, as the (European) immigrant/settler society. I suggest that, although multicultural representations celebrate difference, they also police difference. I use a story of the grand opening of Shikaoi Park as an example to demonstrate that very little has changed (within dominant culture) to make (multicultural) Canada a more just and/or equitable and/or inclusive society for First Nations people.

Finally, it is important to note that the mural, *Early trade and commerce* (Brod, 2003) contains an image of Chief Burntstick. I speak to this mural in association with *Pride in agriculture*[6].

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[6] This is a note on the structure of the tour. At the beginning of each section, I provide a representation of the key mural being interpreted. I also include a version (from either the mural guide or the mural's accompanying plaque) of the mural's official interpretive text. I do this to show the reader what information they would/might have access to, if he/she was taking a self-guided mural tour. I will speak to the implications/significance of the self-guided tour in the section, *The First People: Popular culture, Indians and romantic representations.*

The First People: *Popular culture, Indians, and romantic representations*

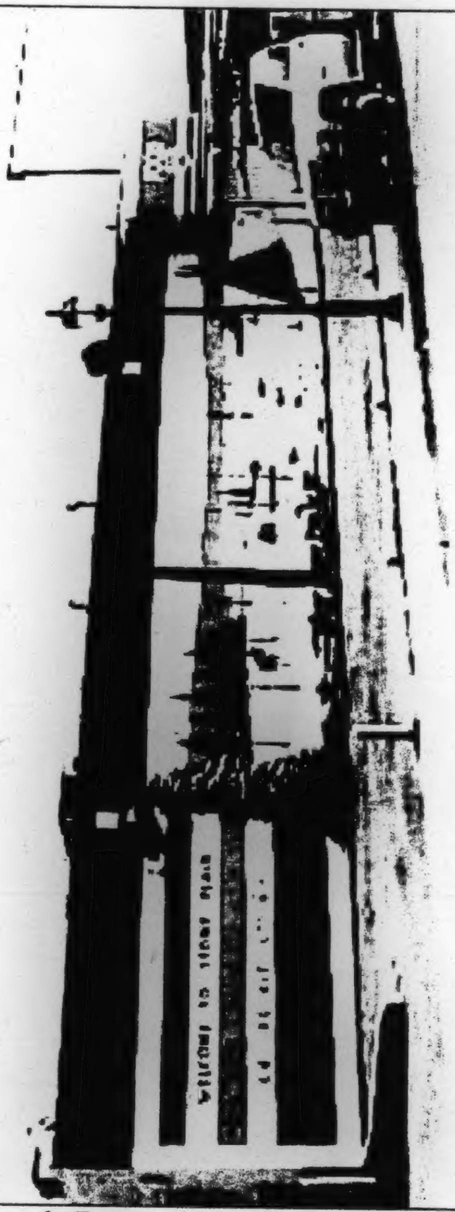

Figure 4-1. *The First People* (Langeveld, 1992)

The First People
The land which is now Alberta has been inhabited by the Canadian Native Indian for at least ten thousand years . The Stoney Indians' camp was situated in the Glory Hills with tepee entrances facing east to greet the sun of each new day. Symbolic meaning of colour is reflected on the side of the mural: Red symbolizes honesty; Green represents Mother Earth; White means wisdom and Yellow signifies the sun; Blue is symbolic of faith, while Black represents power. The message, "Welcome to Stony Plain" is written in Cree syllabics. The sacred Bald Eagle soars above, closest to the Creator. He is a symbolic messenger, giving strength and freedom to his people. Wildlife is depicted because it was a sustaining resource. A sense of peace and harmony emanates from the mural, well defining the way of life of "The First People" (*Stony Plain Murals Guide*, 2003).

Daniel Francis (2000) argues in *The Imaginary Indian: The image of the Indian in Canadian culture* that the "Indian is the invention of the European" (p. 4). In stating this, Francis does not intend to deny the existence of First Nations people. Instead, he uses this provocative statement to foreground how non-First Nations people (predominantly Europeans/"Whites") have come to construct, and through these constructions come to know and relate to First Nations people as "Indians" (p. 4ff). Indians have been constructed in/through many mediums (art, literature, photographs, advertising, films, fairs and museums) and these representations have come to signify many things (savages, noble savages, exotics, vanishing peoples, the first ecologists, shattered people and so forth) for non-First Nations audiences (Francis, 2000; Frank, 2000; McLoughlin, 1999). Although many of these images and the knowledge they represent have changed over time, Indian images, the knowledge represented through them and the relations of power they support are still pervasive. *The First People's* mural is a useful image for foregrounding how constructions and representations of the Indian operates to de-politicize First Nations concerns and normalize (conceal) the circulation of contemporary colonial power relations.

Popular Culture

Stony Plain's *The First People* mural will, in all likelihood, seem either familiar, authentic and/or unremarkable to most first time viewers. Even though the mural pays homage to "Cree and Stoney Indians" who had "well established camps" in the Stony Plain area "before the settlement of the west by the white man" (Heritage Agricultural Society, 1999, p. 122), the mural would probably be intelligible to any viewer, who had heard about Indians and the European settlement of western North America, seen movies like *Dances with wolves (1990)*[7], and/or seen nineteenth century romantic landscape/Indian paintings[8]. In other words, the images and themes depicted in *The First People's* mural are part of a long tradition of romantic representation of (supposedly) pre-/early contact First Nations people and their environments (Francis, 2000; McLoughlin, 1999).

Romanticism and representation

The "romantic image of a people bonded to the earth" is one of the most widespread and enduring stereotypes of First Nations people (McLoughlin, 1999, p.

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[7] *Dances with wolves* (1990) is a western movie. www.couchcowboy.com/Mustsees/DancesWolves.htm (retrieved 2004) described the movie as follows: "Beautifully filmed and dedicated to authentically reproducing the period, Dances With Wolves is an outstanding movie. Breathtaking shots of the prairie and South Dakota capture the scope of the West. And extraordinary detail delivers a feel for the time. The film is the story of the death of Lt. Dunbar (Kevin Costner) and his rebirth as Dances With Wolves, a Sioux Indian. During the good lieutenant's journey toward self-actualization, much commentary is made about whites and their culture. Prior to the arrival of whites, the Sioux lived in an Eden (excepting Pawnee raids). With the whites came litter and waste." Note the similarity in tone and content between the *Dances with wolves* descriptor and the text provided for *The First People's* mural.

[8] To see examples of 19th century Western Canadian, landscape, period art or photographs, go to: www.glenbow.org.

37). The romantic representation of First Nations has its roots in two inter-related and mutually supporting historical phenomena. First, by the mid-nineteenth century, the idea of the vanishing Indian was well known. Most of England, Europe and Eastern North America were industrialized and urbanized, and European imperialist and colonial expansion had spread throughout the world. The expansion of Western civilization was having profound effects on (what Europeans deemed) traditional indigenous cultures (Francis, 2000; Frank, 2000; Lidchi, 1997; McLoughlin, 1999). In North America, the final frontier and last stronghold of Indian cultures (the American and Canadian west) was being broached. Settlement of the Canadian (and American) West by (largely) European and Euro-North American settlers, the push westward of railways, the devastating effects of disease (e.g. small-pox, tuberculosis, and measles) on indigenous populations, and the destruction of bison were some of the many factors that lead European cultures to believe that indigenous populations and cultures were doomed[9].

Second, the (seemingly) inevitable destruction of primitive indigenous peoples via the unrelenting drive of Western civilization and progress created collection frenzy amongst many of the colonizers. Subsequently, there were rushes to save[10] the remnants of the vanishing Aboriginal races. The material culture of First Nations people became targets for private collectors and public institutions. Native artefacts became the desired object of scientific study and interpretation in the emerging fields of ethnography and anthropology and the objects for display and education within new ethnographic museums[11]. In addition to the ambitions of collectors and early anthropologists, artists, writers, and (later) photographers and filmmakers sought to document accounts of North America's Aboriginal people's and their cultures before they were eclipsed by progress and it was too late. Indeed, many of these artists and documentarians took on the guise of amateur anthropologists, even though many of them were more like tourists and/or souvenir collectors.

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[9] European concepts of what "doomed" meant, differed. Some people believed it meant the loss of traditional culture whilst other thought aboriginals were literally going to become extinct (Francis, 2000).

[10] Although collectors, anthropologists, governments, and museums believed they were saving the artefacts and cultural history of dieing races, the drive to collect artefacts amounted to looting First Nations material culture (Cole, 1995; Frank, 2000).

The linking of the disappearance of Indigenous culture to Euro-based progress and civilization is important. It is important for the emergence and perpetuation of romantic Indian imagery, and it is a significant contributor to the de-politicization of First Nations concerns within the contemporary Euro-Canadian mindset. As Moira McLoughlin (1999) argues, by equating First Nations authenticity (real Indian-ness) with pre-contact/traditional/natural life, First Nations people are situated outside of notions of Western progress and civilization. In addition, Euro/White pre-occupation with pre-contact naturalness constructs authentic Indians as mythical beings confined to a romantic mythical Eden-like paradise. These mythical Indians are like pre-Fall (i.e. the Fall of Adam and Eve within Judeo-Christian tradition) people. They are innocents, who live in complete harmony with the natural world and (in many ways) are more enlightened than the

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[11] "[T]he American Museum of Natural History (New York), the Field Museum (Chicago) and the National Museum (Washington, D.C.) were front runners in the race (Frank, 2000, p. 165). In addition to massive collection of First Nations artefacts and human remains, museum classification and scientific investigation methods reinforced conceptualizations of indigenous people as primitive and maladaptive to modern life (McLoughlin, 1999). In other words, appeals to evolutionary science and social Darwinism largely proved and reinforced socially constructed/popular knowledge of aboriginal peoples.

Europeans/Whites of industrialized civilization. This natural innocence however, is also the enlightened, nature-based Indian's doom because their way of being and the natural world upon which they depend on are totally "ineffectual against the reality of progress" (McLoughlin, 1999, p. 156).

Paul Kane

I use the work of Paul Kane (1810-1871) and Fredrick Arthur Verner (1836-1928) to illustrate how Western romanticism came to link real Indian-ness with pre-contact naturalness, and the social effects of this coupling. Indeed, Stony Plain's *The First People* mural echoes the romantic sentiment expressed in Kane and Verner's paintings and sketches of pre-/early contact Indians. In 1845, portrait artist Paul Kane began his quest to paint the disappearing "red man":

> All traces of his footsteps are fast being obliterated from his once favourite haunts, and those who would see the aborigines of the country in their original state, or seek to study their native manners and customs, must travel far through the pathless forest to find them (Kane in Francis, 2000, p. 16).

Kane spent the summer of 1845 along the northwestern shores of the Great Lakes. The Ojibway people he met there, however did not satisfy his perception of what a real Indian should be. Liquor, sickness, and too much White contact had despoiled the Ojibway as true representatives of the "noble savage" (Francis, 2000, p. 16). In 1846, Kane left Toronto to travel across the Northwest. He hoped that by going deep into the western wilderness, he would find and sketch "principle chiefs and their original costumes, to illustrate their manners and customs, and to represent the scenery of an almost unknown country" (p. 17). Between 1846 and 1848, Kane travelled across the Canadian prairies, over the Rocky Mountains to Fort

Vancouver and Vancouver Island, and then returned back across the mountains and prairies to Toronto. After more than two years in the Canadian West, Kane returned to Toronto with over 500 sketches and watercolours, as well as a large collection of Indian souvenirs that he collected on his travels.

Kane publicly exhibited his sketches and souvenirs shortly after returning to Toronto. Many people went to see Kane's images of the West, native chiefs, hunters, buffalo chases, exotic rituals and his collection of Indian artefacts[12] (Francis, 2000). Visitors marvelled at the "truthfulness" (p. 20) and "accuracy" (p. 21) of Kane's primitive artefacts and realistic depictions of Indian life. The appeal of Kane's work, Francis contends, resided in the fact that the Ontario public visiting Kane's works were already pre-disposed to romanticizing about the "western Native" and Kane's art and collection more than fulfilled their expectations:

> In Kane's paintings of picturesque Indians in elaborate costumes of feathers and buffalo hide, his audience found confirmation of a fascinating wilderness world inhabited by fiercely independent, entirely mysterious people. Everyone agreed that Kane, their own local hero, had done even better than Catlin[13] (Francis, 2000, p. 20)

Although Kane's audience was pre-exposed and pre-disposed to romanticism, so too was Kane. Kane was a romantic artist. He added details to landscapes, played with light effects, would add clothing and artefacts to subjects, ignore/leave out overt signs of Western adaptation by First Nations people, and modelled Indian images within European artistic conventions (Frances, 2000).

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[12] Kane also published a best-selling travel guide about his adventures, *Wanderings of an artist among the Indians of North America*; and, the sketches and watercolours he made during his travels served as models for 100 oil paintings.

[13] George Catlin was an American artist who exhibited his extensive collection of paintings and artefacts of American Indians in the 1830s. Catlin and Kane also met in London in 1843 (Francis, 2000).

Kane's (1862) *The Death of Omoxesisixany or Big Snake* (Figure 4-2), for example, is reminiscent of heroic military renderings (e.g. in paintings and statuary) of the valiant European Kings, Princes and Generals astride majestically prancing or rearing war-horses; while, *White Mud Portage, Winnipeg River* (1856) (Figure 4-3) exudes the "peace and harmony" of bucolic splendour that is commonly depicted in romantic art (e.g. landscape paintings, nature poetry, novels and so forth).

Frederick Arthur Verner

"Every social configuration is meaningful" (LaClau and Mouffe in Hall, 1997, p. 45). The configuration through Western romanticism of First Nations people as noble savages and/or natural/traditional/mythical beings who were at one with the land, produce and normalize non-First Nations' people social knowledge about First Nations People as Indians. With very little or no actual exposure to First Nations people and cultures, but a great deal of exposure to representations of Indians within popular culture, non-First Nations people believe they know who First Nations/Indians are and what First Nation/Indian cultures are all about. The paintings and public interpretation of painter Frederick Arthur Verner are cases in point.

Verner is perhaps best know for his paintings of buffalo (plains bison)[14] although he probably never saw a bison in the wild (Francis, 2000). In addition to his buffalo paintings, he is also known for paintings of Indians (of which he had only slightly more experience). Verner's first two Indian portraits (1862) were based on photographs he had seen. Several years later in 1870 (in Montreal), he exhibited five oil paintings titled "'Indian landscape scenes in the far West' even though the farthest west he had travelled was the Muskoka Lakes", the only First Nations people he had seen were in 1867 at Chemong Lake, and the only tipis he had encountered were at "a provincial exhibition in Toronto" (Francis, 2000, p. 25). In 1873, Verner did spend several months with First Nations people when he spent the summer in Manitoba and saw the signing of Treaty Three[15]. Although his Manitoba stay was quite short, it "supplied him with the material for most of his subsequent Indian paintings" (p.25).

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[14] See: http://national.gallery.ca

Verner's Indian paintings were often constructed through two themes. One theme was landscapes. In these paintings, Indians or evidence of Indian life appeared as natural parts of the landscape. Indians were often seen off in the distance, as they canoed across a placid lake (Figure 4-4, *The Upper Ottawa,* 1882), or road the rapids of a turbulent river. Evidence of native inhabitation worked in much the same way, as is evidenced in *Moon Rising over a Lake* (n.d.) (Figure 4-5). The tee pee and campfire blend seamlessly into a pristine environment during a beautiful moon lit night. The second theme Verner was fond of was the representation of Indian families. The people were usually quite non-descript, but were often shown sitting close to a tepee, wigwam or lodge, or walking near the camp. It is important to point out the stunning thematic, representational and tonal similarity between Langeveld's (1991) *The First People* and Verner's *The Upper Ottawa* (1882) and *Moon Rising over a Lake* (n.d.). Langeveld's Stoney people and their camp fade into the pristine Glory Hills. Indeed, the text supporting Stony Plain's *The First People* mural, could equally be applied to Verner's art: "A sense of peace and harmony emanates from the mural [painting], well defining the way of life of 'The First People'" (Town of Stony Plain, 1991).

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[15] Treaty Three was between the Canadian government and the Salteaux and Chippewa. It was signed in 1873 at Northwest Angle near Lake of the Woods. The Treaty area encompasses much of Northwestern Ontario.

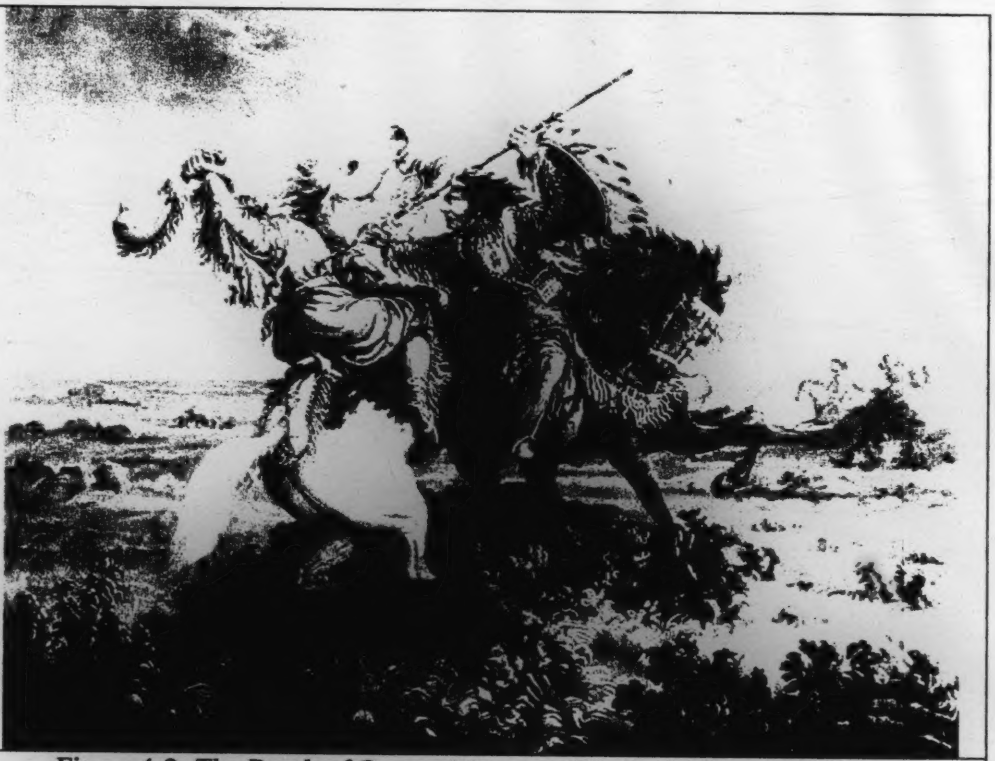

Figure 4-2. *The Death of Omoxesisixany or Big Snake* (Kane, 1862)
Used with permission, http://national.gallery.ca

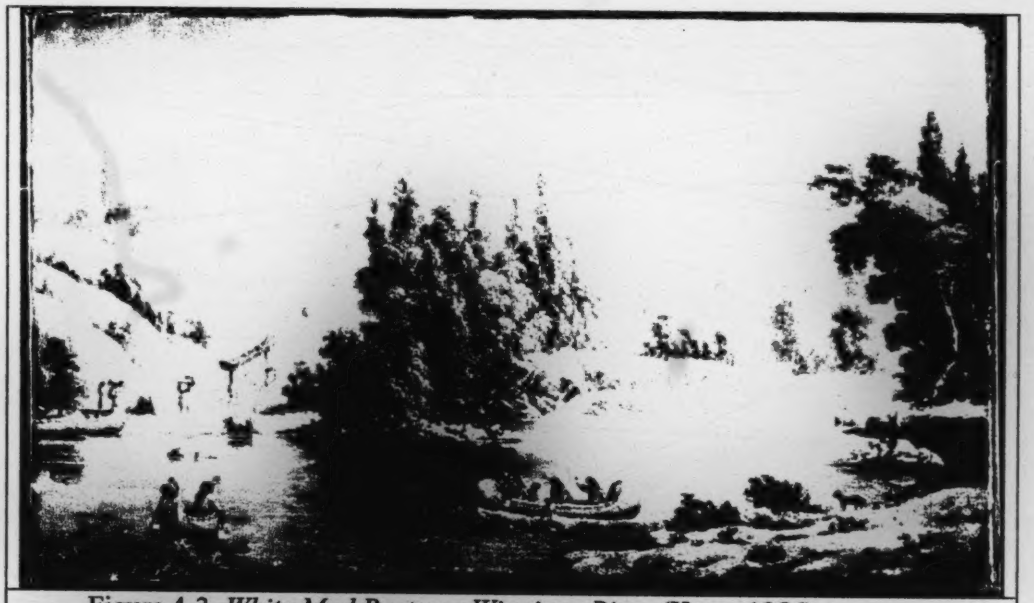

Figure 4-3. *White Mud Portage, Winnipeg River* (Kane, 1856)
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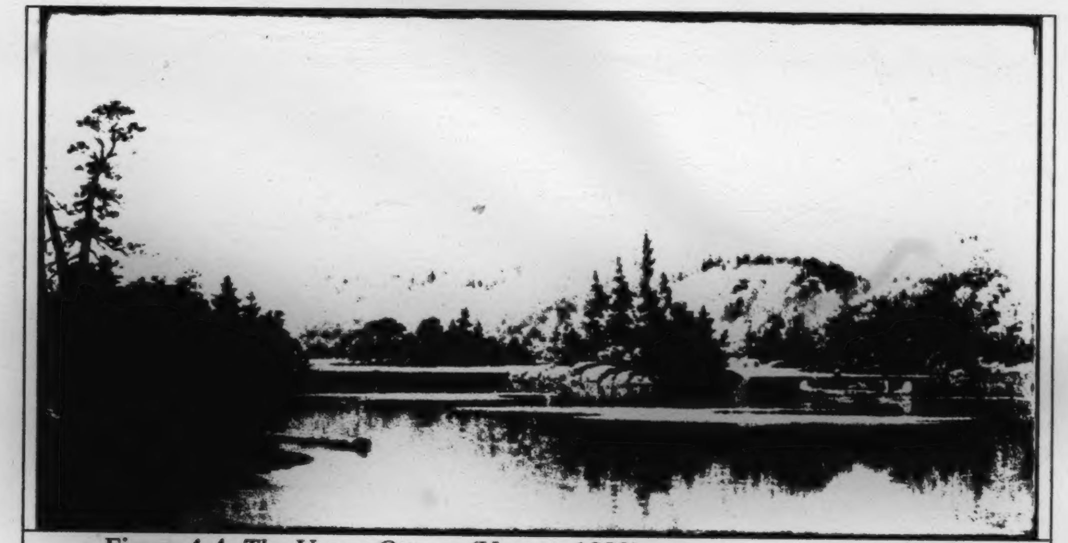

Figure 4-4. *The Upper Ottawa* (Verner, 1882)
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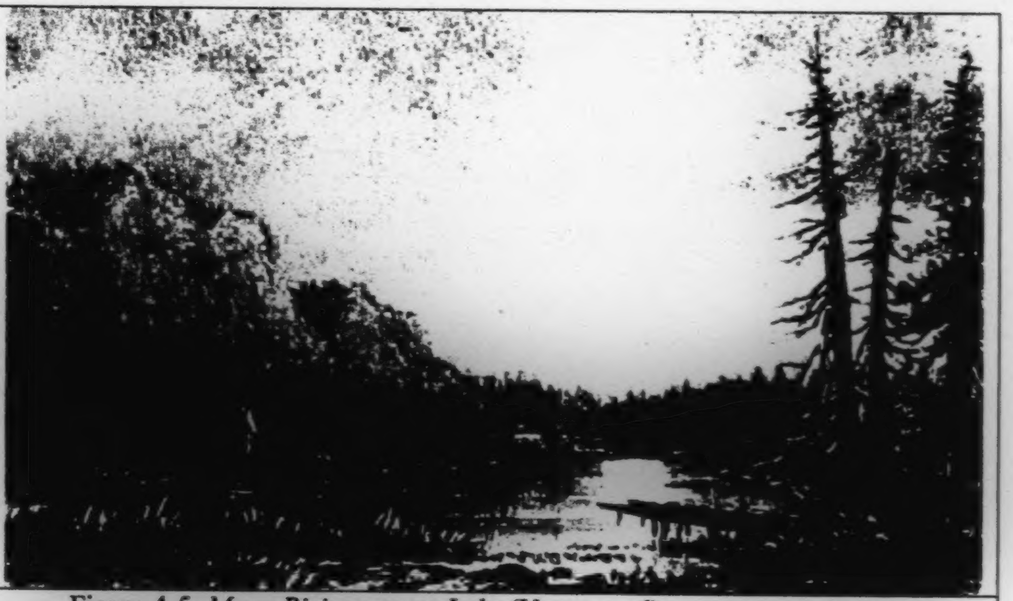

Figure 4-5. *Moon Rising over a Lake* (Verner, n.d)
Used with permission, http://national.gallery.ca

The social effect of romantic discourse

Verner's romantic paintings of buffalos and Indians were very popular in England (where he moved to in 1880, and subsequently where he remained). His work and popularity in England demonstrate the power that shared social knowledge has in establishing not only social meaning/knowledge but also in creating and sustaining asymmetrical relations of power (Foucault in Hall, 1997). Although Verner's work is a specific, historic example of romantic representation, the widespread and persistent representation of First Nations people in largely idyllic terms de-politicizes First Nations within colonial discourses. Stuart Hall's (1997) explanation of Foucault's conceptualization of discourse can clarify the relationship between romantic knowledge/representation and the circulation of colonial power. "Discourse", Hall states,

> constructs the topic. It defines and produces the object of our knowledge. It governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked

> about and reasoned about. It also influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others (p. 44).

Discourses of Western romanticism define real/true Indian-ness in terms of nobleness, pristine nature and pre-contact aboriginal life. As long as First Nations people were/are depicted as noble savages or as natural aspects of an Eden-like paradise, colonial people could/can understand and celebrate the nobleness of the Indian and Indian culture. However, the display of Western adaptation (i.e. as progress within, adaptation to, or resistance to colonial life) or of Western malfunction (e.g. drunkenness, poverty, disease, death) by First Nations is incongruous with what is intelligible as 'the real Indian' or 'appropriate Indian-ness'. An account of an English academic's response to Verner's art reveals how romanticism frames (and I argue[16] continues to frame) colonial definitions of Indian-ness:

> His [Verner's] subjects are very interesting to us who live on this side of the great salt lake…they record things which …are doomed to pass away. The buffalo may already be classed with the Great Auk and the Dodo, and the aboriginal Red Indian, in flannel shirt and trousers, no longer reminds one of the noble savage in his war paint who stalks so majestically through the narratives of Fenimore Cooper[17] (cited in Francis, 2000, p. 25).

Comments like the academic's were not simply observations about how First Nations/Indian cultures were changing, adapting or relating to European/White culture. Romantic representations, along with their disruptions expose relations of power within discourses of colonial romanticism. Moira McLoughlin (1999) asserts that romantic representations not only de-politicise(d/s)

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[16] I talk about the framing of Indian-ness through multicultural discourses at the next two stops on the mural tour.

[17] The reference is to James Fenimore Cooper's "last Mohican".

First Nations people within the colonial mindset, but also legitimates their marginalization within mainstream culture. Marginalization (the threat of eventual disappearance) is naturalized through colonial logic that situates civilization within progress, and progress as inevitable. The pre-contact/natural/mythic Indian is a logical and therefore inevitable victim of progress whilst, colonial culture become "the noble red man's" logical and unavoidable successor.

The deployment of romantic rhetoric is an effective tool of colonial power because it simultaneously applauds the inherent superiority of the noble Indians as it diffuses colonial responsibility for their apparent demise, disappearance or lack of success within modern North American culture. The diffusion is evidenced by what Rosaldo (1989) has termed "imperialist nostalgia":

> …where people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed. Imperialist nostalgia thus revolves around a paradox: a person kills somebody and then mourns his or her victim. In more attenuated form, someone deliberately alters a form of life and then regrets that things have not remained as they were prior to his or her intervention. At one more remove, people destroy their environment and then worship nature. In any of its versions, imperialist nostalgia uses a pose of "innocent yearning" both to capture people's imaginations and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination (Rosaldo in McLoughlin, 1999, p. 22).

Imperialist nostalgia that is linked to romantic representation deflects scrutiny in two ways. On the one hand, it deflects attention by making the Indians'/First Nations' nobility and connection to nature a fatal flaw. It is the Indians'/First Nations' inability to adapt to the modern world that is the problem. On the other hand, imperialist nostalgia deflects by constructing progress as an inexorable force. It is simply the unstoppable force of 'progress' that is now responsible for the demise of the Indian in contemporary society. In both instances, colonial people do not have to examine how dominant social institutions, political practices, economic systems or individual desires and actions effect, insubordinate, constrain or victimize First Nations people and their respective cultures.

Stony Plain's vanishing Indians

The First People's (1991) mural certainly frames Stoney and Cree people and cultures within the same romantic tradition the underlies Kane and Verner's Indian paintings. The depiction of "wildlife" as a "sustaining resource", the reference to "the tepee entrances facing east to greet the sun", the invocation of the "symbolic meaning of colour", "sacred[ness of the] Bald Eagle", and the "Creator", as well as the writing of "Welcome to Stony Plain" in Cree syllabics reinforce romantic images of pre-contact Indian people[18] within the colonial imagination. The mural is exemplary of Rosaldo's (1989) conceptualization of "imperialist nostalgia" as it operates within contemporary heritage tourism and multiculturalism. The pervasiveness of romantic images like *The First People* and the circulation of imperialist nostalgia are important because they continue to perpetuate the stereotype of the vanishing Indian and serve to de-politicize First Nations' within mainstream Canadian culture.

Imperialist nostalgia is a useful tool within today's heritage tourism because it helps to produce a conflict free version of popular history for image-concerned municipalities, businesses and service organizations. Contemporary communities, like Stony Plain, develop heritage tourism infrastructure as a form of economic diversification. However, successful economic diversification is challenging within an economic climate of regional, provincial, national and even international competitiveness. Often, communities try to guarantee success (i.e. the attraction of tourists, capital, or new residents) by creating idealized, conflict-free representations of their respective community.[19] Stony Plain's mural program does represent historical episodes of Stony Plain's past, but the murals do so through conflict-free themes that promote Stony Plain's contemporary concerns of community, communal success, wealth, progress and economic security.

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[18] I want to make something clear. I do not intend to suggest that First Nations cultures do not have significant relationships with the land, or valuable/meaningful spiritual traditions, or rich symbolic traditions. Instead, what I suggest/reassert is that First Nations images, cultures, traditions and so forth are appropriated, interpreted, deployed and consumed in murals like, *The First People* by and for non-First Nations audiences.

Significant historical issues like the removal of Stoney and Cree people from Stony Plain and the Glory Hill through inequitable Treaty and reserve processes are silenced through representations like *The First People's* mural. Stony Plain citizens do not have to interrogate how contemporary Stony Plain's successes, or even individual social and economic opportunities, are predicated upon the historical and contemporaneous disenfranchisement and dislocation of the First People. The warm sentiment expressed in the mural ("peace and harmony… well defin[es] the way of life of 'The First People'") actually does two things. One, it sets the stage for a graceful, natural, guilt-free dismissal of First Nations people from Stony Plain. And two, it anticipates the actual/real work of community/Town building that comes with the European settlement of Stony Plain. The romantic image of the Indian vanishes to be replaced by the romantic images of hardy settlers from diverse lands: "[t]he cultural diversity and traditions that pioneers brought with them have provided our community [Stony Plain] with a deep and timeless bond of unity and harmony (Town of Stony Plain, 2001, p. 5).

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[19] See: Specht (2004) for a detailed perspective on the creation of Stony Plain as a good community within tourism.

It is also necessary to specifically address the role that contemporary multicultural discourse plays in the production of the mural's warm and respectful tone and sentiment. The invocation of multicultural discourse (the ascription of equal worth and value to cultural differences) lends both to the romantic Indian imagery and to the diffusion of conflict. The mural representations (i.e. the visual as well as written text) reflect a multicultural sensitivity that diffuse conflict because it does seem to honour the region's First Nations cultures by making specific mention of both Stoney and Cree culture. The mural and its accompanying text refer respectfully to aspects of cultural symbolism and spiritual belief. There is, however a significant problem with these deferential representations.

In many ways, *The First People* and its supplementary text still work within and reinforces the tradition of a generic, romantic Indian and Indian culture. The two cultures are conflated within the romantic representations of Indian-ness. And although, historically this region's Stoney and Cree people did have an alliance and did genuinely respect each other (Bird, 1998), it is very difficult to determine what aspects of the representations signify Cree culture or Stoney culture, or even if both nations should be represented together in this way. For example, are the symbolic relationships associated with colours the same between the Stoney and the Cree? Or, would the Cree want to be represented alongside the Stony (and vice versa) in this kind of multi-Nations collage? The ability to distinguish between the two Nations, however, does not really matter. The conflation of the Cree and Stoney cultures still denotes “Indian-ness”, while the specific use of Cree and Stoney still implies multicultural respect for non-First Nations viewers.

At *The First People's* mural I explored the concept of the vanishing Indian. Specifically, I addressed how romantic representations construct Indian-ness for non-First Nations people and marginalizes First Nations within colonial discourses of civilization and progress. At the next mural, *Pride in agriculture* (Fantini, 1999), I explain the role of the Indian Chief image in Stony Plain's mural project.

Indian Chiefs: Making real Indians for (tourist) trade and (community image) commerce

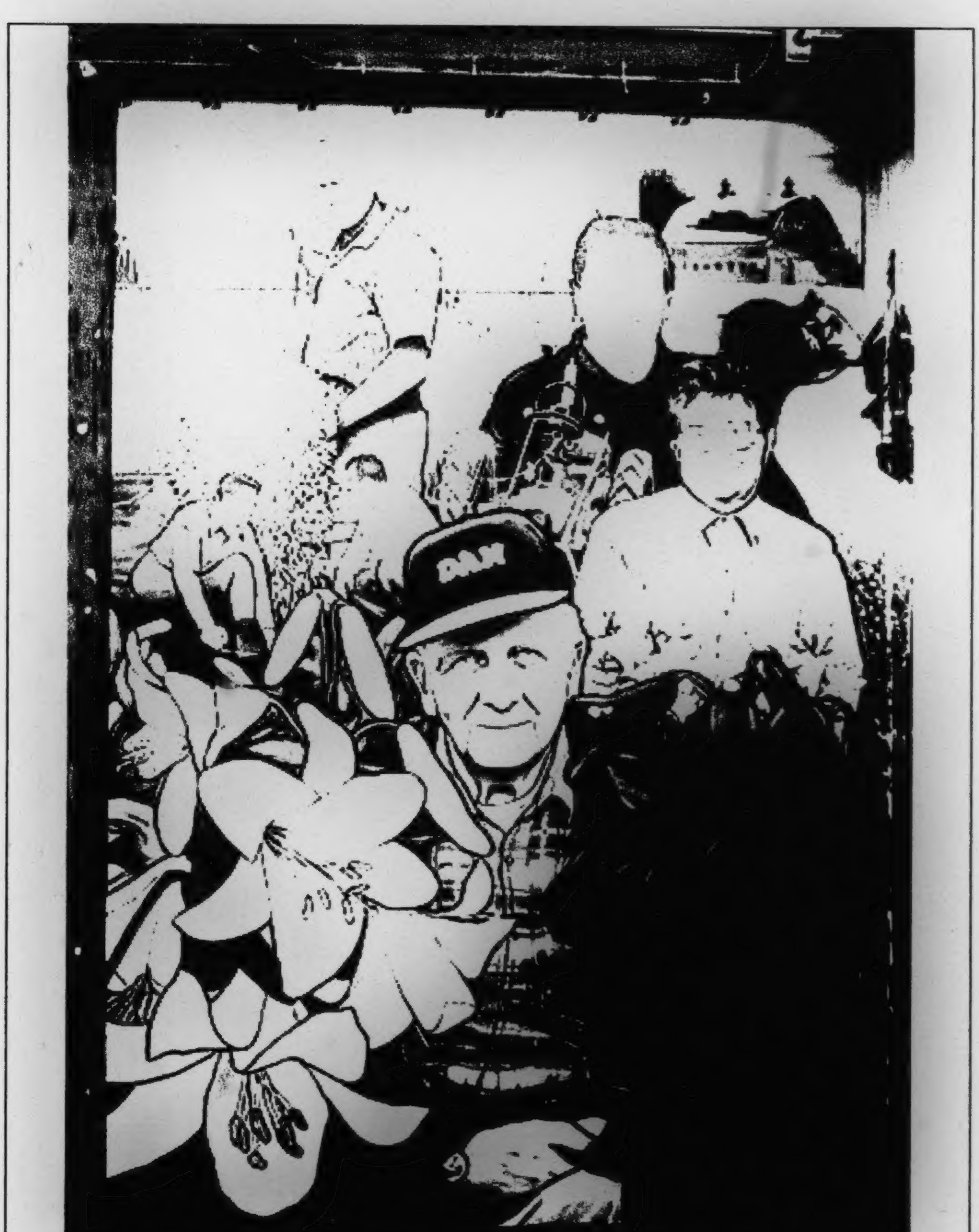

Figure 4-6. *Pride in Agriculture*, panel one (Fantini, 1999)

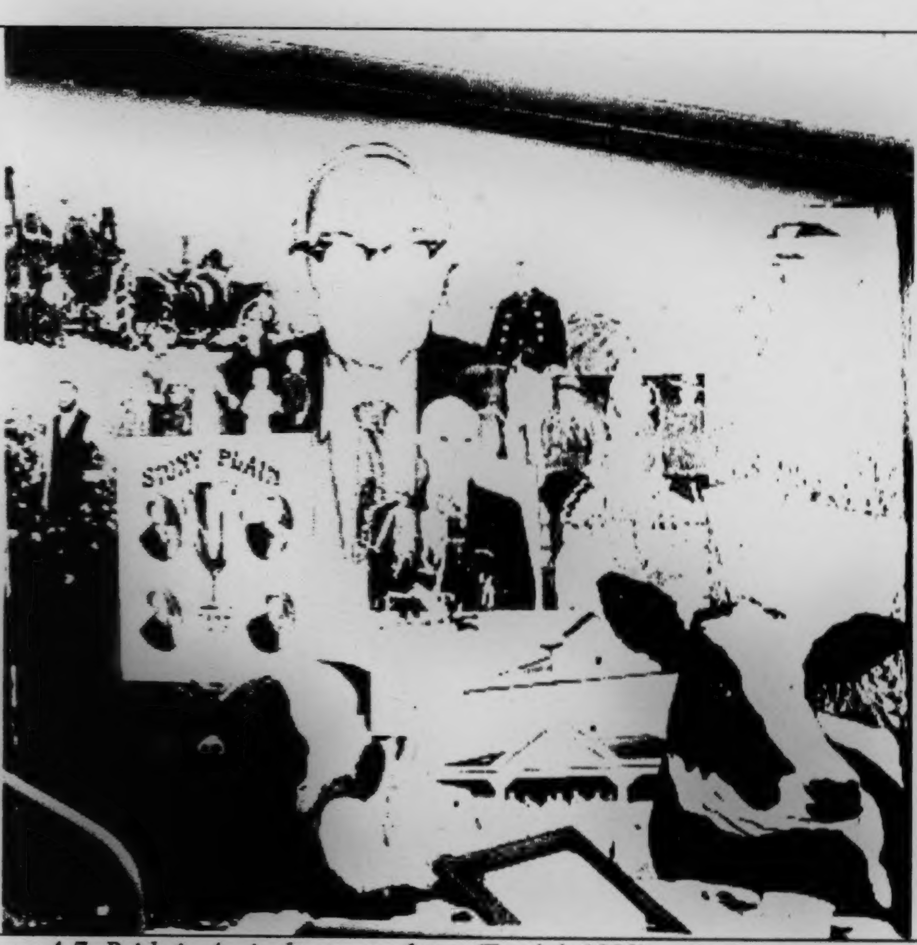

Figure 4-7. *Pride in Agriculture*, panel two (Fantini, 1999)

Pride in Agriculture
The Stony Plain Demonstration Farm was in operation from 1912-1924 for the purpose of demonstrating good farming techniques to local farmers and students from surrounding argricultural schools. This mural pays tribute to some of the area's outstanding families and their respective accomplishments in the field of agricultural and horticulture (Town of Stony Plain, 2003).

Making the Indian image (for tourism, civilization, and nation)

Thomas King (2003) asked the question "how can something that has never existed – the Indian – have form and power while something that is alive and kicking – Indians – are invisible?" (p. 53). The answer, for King seems obvious:

> Edward Sherriff Curtis.[20]
>
> James Fenimore Cooper, George Catlin, Paul Kane, Charles Bird King, Karl May, the Atlanta Braves, the Washington Redskins, the Chicago Blackhawks, Pontiac (the car, not the Indian), Land O'Lakes butter, Calumet baking soda, Crazy Horse Malt Liquor, *A Man Called Horse*, Iron Eyes Cody, *Dances with Wolves*, *The Searchers*, the Indian Motorcycle Company, American Spirit tobacco, Native American Barbie, Chippewa Springs Golf Course, John Augustus Stone, the Cleveland Indians, Disney's Pocahontas, Geronimo shoes, the Calgary Stampede, Cherokee brand underwear, the Improved Order of the Red Men, Ralph Hubbard and his Boy Scout troop, Mutual of Omaha, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, the Boston Tea Party, Frank Hamilton Cushing, William Wadsworth Longfellow, the Bank of Montreal, Chief's Trucking, Grey Owl, The Sioux Spaceman, Red Man chewing tobacco, Grateful Dead concerts, Dreamcatcher perfume (p. 53-4)

This is an extensive, although not exhaustive, list of photographers, painters, writers, products, sports teams, service organizations, events, companies, movies and people who/that have one thing in common, they have appropriated Aboriginal images and cultural markers. The appropriation creates the Indian (commodities and/or signs of: nobleness, savageness, romance, strength, power, wildness,

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[20] It is important to note that Edward Sherriff Curtis is given a line of his own. Curtis was the obsessive and prolific Seattle Indian photographer of the early 1900s. Curtis became obsessed with photographing North America's 'disappearing' Aboriginal cultures. In fact the very first photo in the twenty book, 1 500 photo, 722 copperplate photogravure set of *The North American Indian* (1907-1930) was titled "The vanishing race" (Francis, p. 39, 2000). Curtis was also responsible for the film: *In the land of the head-hunters* (later re-titled, *In the land of the war canoe*) (Frank, 2000) a film about "love and warfare among the Kwakiutl of northern Vancouver Island" (Francis, 2000, p. 41). Although Curtis created a valuable collection of well over 9 000 photos depicting Native people and culture in his 30-year career, Curtis also was known to carry a prop box of Indian artefacts and clothing. He used the items to make Aboriginal look more 'Indian' for the photos, and would also tell his subjects how to behave so that they would be perceived as real Indians for the Euro North American viewing public (Francis, 2000; Frank, 2000). Although Curtis' name may not be recognizable to most people, his photos are usually instantaneously recognizable as depictions of authentic Indian-ness.

Americana, Canadiana, nature, and freedom)[21]. “In the end,” King argues, “there is no reason for the Indian to be real. The Indian simply has to exist in our imaginations” (2003, p. 54). In this section, I continue to work with King’s (and Francis’) assertion that the Indian does not have to be real, but only exist in our imagination, in order to examine how Stony Plain’s mural program appropriates and commodifies the (imaginary) Indian in three (mutually reinforcing) ways: Indian as measure of civilization, as symbol of the West/Canadian West, and as sign of multicultural Other.

The Indian image most commonly deployed in Stony Plain’s Mural program is what King describes as the “solitary male Indian” (King, 2003, p. 79). The “solitary male Indian” or variations of this theme appear in three of Stony Plain’s five First Nation representations (Figures 4-8; 4-9; 4-10). The “solitary male Indian” has roots in the mid to late nineteenth century. The image emerges from strange interactions between Euro-North American anxieties about Indians as wild, savage, dangerous threats (on the one hand), and Euro-North American romantic sentiments about Indians as Noble, exotic, brave figures (on the Other).

Making the real (Plains) Indian

The idea of the “solitary male Indian” (particularly as solitary Plain’s Chief) is linked to Euro-North American culture(s) in the Eastern United States, Canada and Europe. By the mid-1850s, European settlement was well entrenched on the Eastern coast of North America. The East was becoming more urbanized and industrialized and, for the most part, the region’s First Nations people had been dismissed from the Eastern Euro-North American imagination (King, 2003, p. 78).

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[21] This list is not exhaustive.

The lack of any immanent threat from local (eastern) Nations had a strange effect on the public. Whereas Eastern First Nations were dismissed from the Euro-North American mindset, Western First Nations were situated at the forefront of Euro-North American imagination and concern.

On one level, the apparent 'disappearance' of eastern Indians, generated curiosity and intrigue about what the Eastern public regarded as 'real' Indians. Eastern Indians were no longer real Indians because they had "been assimilated to the plow… crippled by European diseases and vices…buried on reservations and locked up in military prisons" (p. 79). Western Indians, however, were spectacularly real Indians in the Euro-North American imagination. Representations of Indians (e.g. Kane and Verner's paintings), European accounts of the western wilderness and Indian encounters, as well as the acquisition and display of actual, exotic (western) Indian artefacts generated curiosity and awe amongst Eastern audiences.

On another level, however, the exoticness and wildness that so captivated the imaginations of eastern North Americans also helped to situate western First Nations as threats. Western Indians were ideological threats to Euro-North American conceptions of civilization, social order, wealth, and progress; as well as physical threats/obstacles to colonial expansion into the region (Francis, 2000; Innes, 1999; King, 2003).

Stories of the Indian menace emerged out of both the American and Canadian West. In the United States, fierce, exotic Plains Chiefs (e.g. Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse) terrorized settlers and massacred[22] brave American soldiers (e.g. Little Big Horn, 1876). Things were reportedly no better in Canada. The fierce (although noble) Plains' Warriors depicted in images Paul Kane's paintings were freely associated with unsettling events such as Sitting Bull's move into Canada after the Little Big Horn conflict (1877-1881), and the North West Rebellion of 1885 (Francis, 2000). The horror of Custer's 'last stand' at Little Big Horn, made the American West seem to Eastern audiences like a Nation at war, whilst, the movement of Sitting Bull and his people into Canada, and the North West Rebellion made the Canadian West appear to be on the brink of war (Francis, 2000).

The Wild West Show as representative of Indian-ness

Buffalo Bill Cody's *Wild West Show* (whose success spawned many similar acts) emerged out of this strange mix of Euro-North American curiosity/awe of the Indian as wild, untamed other and anxiety/fear of the Indian as fierce, savage threat. Cody's show graphically dramatized for Eastern and European audiences the epic struggle being waged for civilization in the fierce and wild west. Cody's show started in the winter of 1882-83, and it featured sharp shooting marksmen, trick riders, Indian scouts and a simulated Great Plains hunt, but soon developed into a large, dynamic, colourful spectacle. In 1885, Cody brought the show to Toronto for a trial run of the performance he would later stage in New York called the "Pageant of Civilization":

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[22] One must note the use of language. Euro-Americans and Canadians often couched 'white' against 'Indian' conflict in such a way as to make the Europeans appear the victims. The Battle of Little Big Horn was often referred to, and sometimes still is perceived as a massacre of American soldiers and not as a military confrontation of two sovereign Nations.

> …this multi-act production featured huge painted scenic backdrops, hundreds of performers, a small railway and special effects that included a prairie fire and a cyclone. The show began with an Indian war and ended with an enactment of Custer's Last Stand….in, the spring of 1887, Cody loaded his all-star cast, 200 animals and ninety-seven Indians onto a boat and sailed to England for his first European tour (Francis, 2000, p. 90).

For the Eastern North American and European audiences, the Indian performers made the show thrilling, exciting and, most of all real/authentic. The appearance of bona fide Native performers tantalized and reinforced the audiences' conception of Indians as fierce Plain's warriors. The stern image was graphically reinforced by the costumes and behaviours of these wild Indians (performers). The Indians looked like warriors, decked out in feathered war bonnets and buckskin clothing. As well, these Indians behaved with a skilful savageness, wildly brandishing tomahawks or expertly firing guns (at the fleeing stagecoach) from the backs of their painted war ponies. The Indian representations were made even more genuine for the Euro-North American audiences with the casting of actual, historic Indian legends like Sitting Bull, Black Elk and Gabriel Dumont.[23]

Cody's success was, in large part, fuelled by his ability to play to the audience's fear about wild, savage Indians and the wildness of the western landscape. Cody mobilized fears and notions around authenticity by enacting actual historical events such as the battle at Little Big Horn. It did not matter that he generated the battles or other scenes as theatrical spectacles. In fact, it probably reinforced audience conceptions about the wildness of the West and the uncertainty of Western expansion. Buffalo Bill staged the Battle of Little Big Horn, for example, as a devastating tragedy that appealed to the audiences' insecurities about Indian resistance to settlement (ergo resistance to the White man). The ruthlessness and slaughter depicted in the show also cast Indians as heartless savages. Cody knew how to play on the audiences' hopes and desires as well. By the end of the grand production, Cody allayed spectators' fears/anxieties through the staging of spectacular, last minute cowboy heroics. For example, brave cowboys would save innocent white victims (usually women) from Indian besieged stagecoaches or homestead attacks (Francis, 2000).

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[23] Francis (2000) suggests that it is unclear, at times, why First Nations participated in these types of shows. Although, it is clear that some people performed for some of the following reasons: to make a living, to practicing traditional skills and remember traditional cultural practices, and to avoid jail (because of involvement with resistance) (Francis, 2000; King, 2003).

Colonization of the Plains Indian

Performances like *The Wild West Show* (in addition to the widespread anxiety surrounding the uncertainty of Western settlement and perceived Indian threats to civilization) constructed Euro-North American notions of Indians and Indian-ness in two significant ways. First, the popularity of Cody's show along with the actual historical accounts of confrontations between Colonists and Plains people (e.g. between Sitting Bull and Custer at Little Big Horn) helped to "fix the Plains Indian firmly in the [European and North American] public's mind as typical of all Indians" (Ewar in Francis, 2000, p. 94). Indeed, Thomas King (2003) proposes, that the process of imaginative fixing/stereotyping went a step further. Instead of having Plains culture(s) symbolically replace the myriad of First Nations cultures, the Euro-North American imagination replaced the cultural diversity of First Nations with an easily definable "solitary male Indian"[24] (p. 79). Specifically, the regally outfitted Plains Chieftain[25] became a fixed and popular symbol of Indian-ness to Euro-North Americans.

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[24] The solitary male Indian also plays on the vanishing Indian motif, therefore romantic connotations are associated with the image as well. It is a reiteration of the vanishing Indian motif.

Second, the Euro-North American imaginative replacement that makes Plain's Indians and/or the Plains' Chief stand for Indians and Indian-ness is appropriated for use in the foundational myths of Western settlement and colonial superiority. Representations of traditional Plains' culture (generally) and images of regal Chiefs (particularly) come to serve as Euro-North American "allegor[ies] depicting the ultimate triumph of civilized values over the anarchy of the wilderness" (Francis, 2000, p. 94).

The appropriation of Plains images to signify settlement, progress and civilization by Euro-North American culture is another instance of romantic intervention. Plains cultural markers (e.g. feathers, buckskin clothing, ceremonial dances, drums, tee pees and war ponies [horses]) and images of ceremonially dressed Indian Chiefs are appropriated and romanticized by Euro-North American culture and installed as potent symbols of both Canadian and American colonial and national ambition.

In particular, the "solitary male Indian" (as Chief), is appropriated to serve as symbols of European conquest, empire, nation, potential and progress:

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[25] The image of the Sioux warrior of Chief was so pervasive that performers from other First Nations quickly adapted their Indian performances to reflect the Sioux look (e.g. Mohawk to Sioux) (Nicks, 1999). The Sioux look was deployed to satisfy Euro-North America's idea of Indian.

> …it was the wild, free, powerful, noble, handsome, philosophical, eloquent, solitary Indian –pardon me, solitary male Indian- that Europeans went looking to find. A particular Indian. An Indian who could be a cultural treasure, a piece of North American antiquity. A mythic figure who could reflect the strength and freedom of an emerging continent.
> A National Indian. (King, 2003, p. 79)

The appropriation of First Nations imagery is a very important element of colonization. As European immigration and Western settlement proceeded, and First Nations became more marginalized within the emerging Canadian State and settler society, the image of traditional Indian became a yardstick against which Western progress and success could be measured (Francis, 2000).

For example, agricultural exhibitions, like the Calgary Industrial Exhibition (later, known as the Calgary Stampede) became popular events on the Canadian Prairie in the early twentieth century. The exhibitions promoted economic development and celebrated Western settlement and progress (Francis, 2000). In Calgary, First Nations tribes from all over Alberta were invited to participate in the exhibition, and many accepted the invitation. The Nations camped on the exhibition grounds and were encouraged by exhibition organizers to dress appropriately[26] (i.e. buckskin clothing, feather headdresses, and blankets) and behave traditionally (i.e. practice traditional skills, ceremonies and dances).

In 1908, a *Calgary Hearld* reporter enthused about First Nation participation:

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[26] By "appropriately" and "traditionally", I mean to behave in such a way as to reinforce stereotypes and mythic representations of Indian-ness. I also want to point out I am representing how settlers appropriated and used Indian images. I am not trying to represent how exhibitions or performances were appropriated or manoeuvred by First Nations people. See: King, 2003; Valaskakis, 1993a; and, Nicks, 1999 for First Nations appropriations of cultural performance and exhibition.

> In their glorious blaze of colour, their traditional war paint, their gorgeous feathers and their many blankets, the Indians brought back vividly the long and romantic history of Canada's great western land, the struggle of barbarism with civilization, the eternal contest between what has been and what is to come (cited in Francis, 2000, p. 97).

The visual performance of 'real' Indian-ness must be emphasized. The visual display of feathers, buckskin clothing, beadwork and blankets, for example, served as the difference/standard against which Western civility and progress could be measured. The visual display/performance of Indian-ness were also valuable as a commodity. The tremendous success of Buffalo Bill's *Wild West Show*, Calgary Industrial Exhibition/Calgary Stampede, and Banff Indian Days were based on the spectacle created around the Indian images as identifiable symbols of the Western frontier, and of wildness and adventure. Tourists sought out the adventure of the Western frontier and expected to see real Indians as part of that tourist experience[27]. Tens of thousands of people a year went to the Calgary exhibition(s) to see the Indian village and its inhabitants, while millions rode the train West to capture (what the railway companies actively advertised as) the last glimpses of the "wild Indians" (p. 181) before they vanished.

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[27] For example, the Canadian Pacific Rail company strategically placed 'real' Indians at lunch-stop train stations. The company made money from sale of food and pictures (of the aforementioned Indians) (Francis, 2000).

Mural Indians: Feathers, buckskins, blankets, and glorious blazes of colour[28]

Stony Plain's mural program continues the Euro-North American tradition of cultural appropriation and colonization of First Nation (Siouan[29]) cultural imagery. "Solitary male Indian [/Chief]" images serve as commodities within Stony Plain's heritage tourism infrastructure. In their role as heritage resources, the Indian Chief images show tourists how Stony Plain has progressed. The Indian marks Stony Plain's economic, technological and structural progress since settlement, but also the Indian marks the contemporary community's social progress via multicultural respect.

Early trade and commerce (Brod, 2003) is a mural that celebrates the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce's 97-year history in Stony Plain (Arnold, 2003). The centre of the mural represents a 1960 Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce transaction between Chief Burntstick and teller, Jean Kelly (Figure 4-8). *Pride in Agriculture* (Fantini, 1999) features three un-named Aboriginal (c. 1929) men with Constables Crouch and Moses at the Assistant Manager's House of Stony Plain's Demonstration Farm (Figure 4-9). *The evolution of electricity* (Wei, 1999) (Figure 4-10) portrays the bust of an un-named Stoney Chief (c. 1960) as part of a celebration of Trans Alta Utilities/Calgary Power's presence in Stony Plain as an electrical generating company.

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[28] See: Francis, 2000, p. 97 for use of these terms in context.
[29] The Stoney/Nakoda are a Siouan people (Bird, 1998).

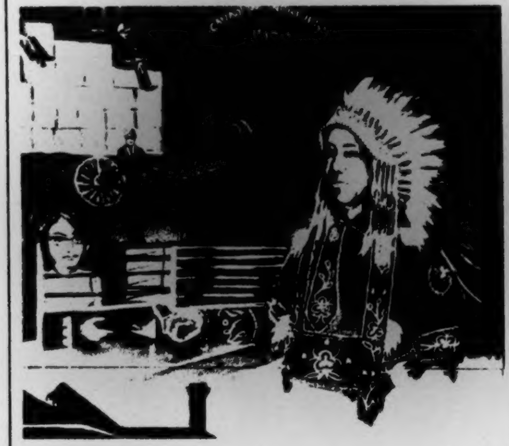

Figure 4-8. ***Early trade and commerce*** (Chief Burntstick)

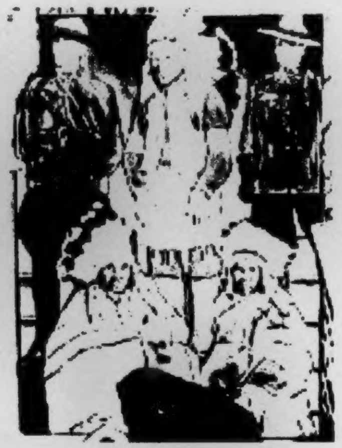

Figure 4-9. ***Pride in Agriculture*** (3 un-named Stoney Men and R.C.M.P)

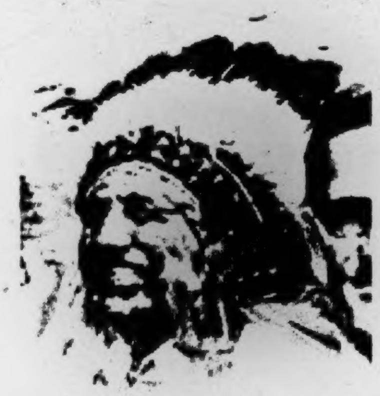

Figure 4-10. ***The evolution of electricity*** (un-named Stoney Chief).

The images represented in the preceding three murals are representations are of actual/historical First Nation men (but then again so were the people who participated in the *Wild West Show*, the Calgary Stampede and Banff Indian

Days)[30]. Indeed, all the First Nations images in Stony Plain's murals, except for *The First People* (Langeveld, 1991) are 'authentic', in so far as they are rendered from photographic evidence. The images are also 'authentic' given that the cultural markers (headdresses, leather clothing, beadwork) and the colonial markers (Hudson Bay blankets, Royal Canadian Mounted Police and Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce) do appropriately reflect some of the cultural and social realities these Stoney/Nakoda[31] men knew and faced in their day lives. In light of this information, one could reasonably expect these types of historic representations to appear in Stony Plain's mural program even though similar images have been appropriated and deployed at other times to symbolize Indian-ness, entertainment, and colonization within Euro-North American popular culture.

The problems these three particular mural representations present are not necessarily problems to do with the authenticity or accuracy of the representations. Instead, the dilemma these figures pose is one of omission. By problem of "omission", I suggest that other representations of Stoney (or Cree) people are absent in Stony Plain's mural program. These three murals along with the romantic pre-contact image of *The First People* (Langeveld, 1991) provide four fifths of the representations of First Nations people in the mural program. The omissions of other accounts (e.g. images of women, children, cultural adaptation, success, and/or resistance) of Stoney and Cree cultural heritage limit how these four murals can be read, and restrict how First Nations people are talked about within contemporary

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[30] I do not want to diminish the significance of these men as people whose lives and cultures are important and deserve recognition/representation. Instead, I am suggesting that their likenesses have been appropriated for service in Stony Plain's tourist industry.

[31] The Stoney/Nakoda of the contemporary Stony Plain area are members of the Sioux Nations (Bird, 1998).

Stony Plain's social and cultural reality. The omission of other types of representations reasserts these three images as stereotypical representations of real Indian Chiefs.[32]

Two questions that can be asked about the frequency of this particular image (formally dressed First Nations man/chief) are: what function do traditional representations serve in Stony Plain's mural program, and how do traditional representations situate First Nations people within dominant culture? I address these questions by speaking to Stony Plain's mural program as a heritage tourism site/sight, and by using in *Pride in agriculture* (Fantini, 1999) as an example of the representation at work within the mural program.

Stony Plain's mural program is one part of Stony Plain's heritage tourism infrastructure. The Town of Stony Plain's Community Tourism Action Plan committee identified heritage tourism as a source of economic diversification and community development ("Action plan", 1988). Heritage tourism was identified as the tourism form that had the most potential for Stony Plain, since the Town and downtown business were rejuvenating Main Street with a 1920s prairie agricultural theme, and because the Multicultural Heritage Centre (a local museum) attracted over 80 000 visitors per year ("Stony Plain already", 1988).

Heritage, within the context of Stony Plain's tourism ambitions, was clearly assumed to mean 'settlement' heritage. The objectives of Stony Plain's heritage infrastructure were: to stimulate the local economy via tourism, to "instil civic pride", and to "preserv[e] and celebrat[e] our heritage by depicting the rich history of our community through outdoor visual arts" (Murals Committee, 2001, p. ii). The celebration of Stony Plain's history through the mural program is a story about how Stony Plain was raised up out of the wilderness by hardy immigrants, who in their shared struggle (for wealth, opportunity and success) make contemporary Stony Plain the prosperous, dynamic vital community that it is today.

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[32] It is also important to note that apart from Chief Burntstick, the other First Nations men are not named. The losing of First Nations people's names is a significant problem of the colonial mindset. Museums, photographers and painters did not so much lose names, as never bother to ask for the names of First Nations people. The losing of names does two things. It helps to make "Indians Vanish" (e.g. see: the work of photographer Edward Curtis); and, it depoliticises First Nations within colonial discourses by allowing Europeans to construct narratives about First Nations individuals and cultures (see: Frank, 2000).

Traditional images of Indians perform two key, albeit supporting, roles in the dramatization of settlement and the emergence of Stony Plain as a contemporary civilized society. First, the representation of the Indian Chief plays the character of nature (the natural) (Francis, 2000; King, 2003; McLoughlin, 1999) in the "pageant of civilization"[33]. The character of nature is something of a complex character. On one level, nature portrays to tourists (and residents) that which came before (settlement): peacefulness, freedom, bucolic splendour, and nothingness. While on another level, nature's character alludes to the audience's loss, constraint, and captivity in civil society. On yet another level, his character becomes the mirror by which the audience can reflect upon and measure Stony Plain's (civilization's) progress.

The second character the Indian Chief performs in Stony Plain's heritage representation is multicultural diversity. This character is a contemporary variation of the notion of progress as social progress. As multicultural diversity, the traditional First Nations[34] person characterizes essential difference that is valued within the contemporary, progressive multicultural community. Just like the Plains Chief came to stand in for/represent First Nations diversity, the essentialized Indian comes to stand in for/represent all visible ethnic and cultural diversity within Stony Plain's cultural diversity. For example, even though Stony Plain had settlers from many different places (England, Germany, Austria, Russia, Sweden and so forth), the settler society assimilates and progresses to become "White" or "Canadian" society. The traditional First Nations character, however, plays the role of visible difference to mark Stony Plain as a multicultural and Canadian community. In both characterizations (as nature and as multicultural diversity), the stereotypical appearance of the Indian Chief (character) props up settlement, progress, civilization and Canadian identity.

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[33] From Buffalo Bill's *Wild West Show*.

Pride in agriculture

The image of the three First Nations men wrapped in blankets and framed by the two policemen is one small representation in a large two-panel mural, *Pride in Agriculture* (Fantini, 1999) (Figures 4-6; 4-7). The representation of the three Indian Chiefs juxtaposed with the two police officers wearing the scarlet blaze of the Royal Canadian Mounted police could stand alone as a very good, or familiar illustration of Western colonization and Canadiana. But, put in its broader mural context, the representation of the three men speaks vividly to how representations of Indians support normalized versions of Western settlement and measure Stony Plain's progress within that settlement.

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[34] I use the term "First Nations" to signal the "social progress", that is the respectful recognition of the traditionally dress Stoney Chief as a valued member of the Canadian cultural mosaic.

Pride in Agriculture tells visitors two stories. Panel A tells the story of how important farming is in the development of Stony Plain. It depicts several "outstanding farm families" (Town of Stony Plain, 2003) as well as three generations of the Jespersen Farm family:

> Andrew [Jespersen], arrived in Stony Plain and built the family's homestead in 1904. It grew into a successful dairy farm with some grain and became the family business, now in its third generation of success with…[grandson] Darrell at the helm.
>
> [son, Ralph] Jesperson's farming career soon bloomed into something of a much larger scale. He served as the chair of the Dairy Bureau of Canada, was president of Unifarm, a provincial farming organization, and even had an office in Ottawa for the Canadian Federation of Agriculture (Williamson, 2000, p. 6).

The second panel, on which the First Nations images appear, depicts scenes from the Stony Plain Demonstration Farm. The Provincially funded demonstration farm operated in Stony Plain from 1912-1924 (Town of Stony Plain, 2003). The 480-acre farm established new farming techniques, developed new crops and taught students how to farm (Williamson, 2000). The assistant manager's house on the demonstration farm housed the Alberta Provincial Police from 1923 until 1933. There is no information provided, as to why the Chiefs are with the police at the demonstration farmhouse.

Development, success, and progress are represented in the mural. The Jespersen family is featured as a foundational family who work(ed/s) hard to make themselves and the community vital and prosperous. The display of colourful flowers, bountiful harvests, and large healthy cattle attest to the success of Stony Plain's farm families. The demonstration farm representations on the second panel exemplify Stony Plain's publicly recognized farming achievements:

> Famous Holstein cows will graze near original farm buildings and Sunnybrook Farm [is] brought to life with the stroke of Fantini's brush.
>
> The diaorama…depict[s] James Atock in Stony Plain's famous potato field; the team of 1912, winners of grand challenge trophies; the Demonstration Farm manager's house; the Canadian Girls in Training from 1912-1924; and the Demonstration Farm's annual report of 1912 (Tchir, 1999, p. A 35).

Pride in agriculture illustrates that Stony Plain has a long and successful history at being the 'best' at farming. Vivid, colourful depictions of successful multi-generational farm families, famous cows, championship trophies, and giant chickens dominate the three small, passive stoic-looking Chiefs. The representations of the Indian Chiefs as constrained, passive figures in relation to the settlers as dynamic, strong and active agents is, as McLoughlin (1999) points out, one of the ways that First Nation people are confined to the past. The naturalness/passiveness of the traditional Aboriginal is simply unable to cope with the settler's fast paced, ever-changing and ever-growing civilization.

In closing, visual markers of Indian-ness are mobilized within Stony Plain's mural project as symbols of settlement, progress, civilization and multiculturalism. The three murals that represent Indian Chiefs illustrate (for tourists and perhaps outside investors and new residents) that Stony Plain is a successful (Western settlement) town, and reflect the image of Stony Plain as a progressive contemporary multiculturalism community. The mural program's limited/stereotypical representations Stoney only as 'Indian Chiefs', however (re)inscribes dominant, normalized Western conceptions of real Indians as throw backs to the past.

The confinement of real Indians to the past has significant implications for contemporary First Nations people. These Indian images deployed in this way, depoliticise the complex and contradictory social space that First Nations people must manoeuvre through in contemporary (dominant) Canadian society. As Moira McLoughlin (1999) points out, First Nations people live in and deal with a highly politicized world that is made more difficult by the persistent circulation of such limited, stereotypical representations. The appropriation of First Nations images and cultural performances by Euro-North Americans has been particularly detrimental to/for First Nations political activism. The casting of First Nations as imaginary Indians, Thomas King (2003) explains has helped to de-politicize aboriginal concerns and participation within contemporary Canadian society. It is very difficult to be taken seriously as an individual or as Nation(s), if the audience you try to address, influence, and/or change primarily knows, treats and deals with you [First Nations] as though you are this (imaginary) Indian.

The challenge of reading, The evolution of electricity

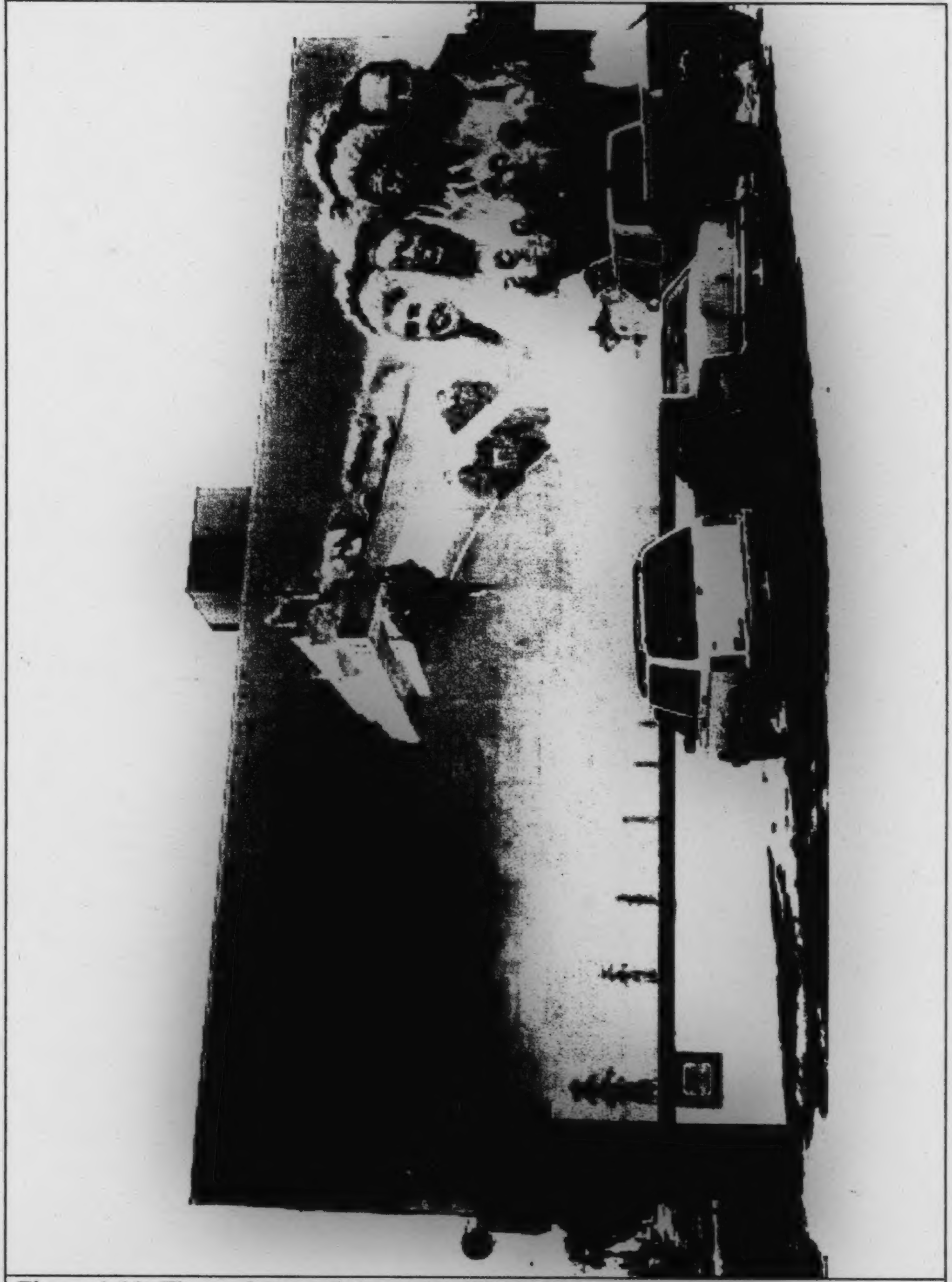

Figure 4-11. *The evolution of electricity* (Wei, 1999)

The evolution of electricity
From the first electrical generator, supplied by John Armbruster in the early 1920s, to whatever the future might hold, electricity continues to play a vital role in all of our lives. Mr. Armbruster first provided electricity to sections of the Town of Stony Plain from 1925-1929, after which time Calgary Power [surrently TransAlta Utilities] took over. Many long-time residents of Stony Plain remember having to wrap up a game of whist before "lights out" at 10 p.m. and adhering to allotted laundry days according to what area of town power was being supplied to. Local pioneering women are pictured at their modern-day appliances that eased their daily lives, while John Armbruster is depicted with some of the personalities that have actively been involved in the establishment and development of related services in the area. Two youths are reaching out towards promises of an unknown future (*Stony Plain Murals Guide*, 2003).

Reading representations: Context and the framing of meaning

This stop in the mural tour is designed to address how context frames meaning within Stony Plain's heritage mural program. *The evolution of electricity* (Wei, 1999) is used to examine how different contexts shape how the mural's different images can be read, with particular emphasis being direct toward reading the portrayal of the three First Nation people .

Museums

Ludmilla Jordanova (1989) describes how the context of cultural representation in museum displays constructs and represents knowledge for museum visitors. The processes of museum display and artefact interpretation, she explains, structures "the context within which the item in question can be 'read,' this context is limited, selective and manipulative, since generally it invites visitors to perceive in a particular way" (p. 24). The framing, labelling and display of the object give it a "voice" that can speak to museum visitors about the artefact and its cultural relationships (Frank, 2000, p. 163). The voice of the object on display is often made authoritative (for visitors) by virtue of the museum's social role as a well-known public education institution (Jordanova, 1989; Lidchi, 1997).

Stony Plain's mural project is intended to be a "giant outdoor museum" ("Painting the old town's", 1990, p. C4) that "preserv[es] and celebrat[es] our heritage by depicting the rich history of our community through outdoor visual arts (murals, sculptures or related visual arts" (Murals Committee 2001, p. ii). Given Stony Plain's museum objectives, therefore, the mural representations are intended to give voice to the people and events that have helped to create Stony Plain's (social, economic, political and religious) infrastructure and community.

The evolution of electricity (Wei, 1999) can be read by mural visitors within the greater context of the settlement/heritage/making of Stony Plain theme that is the expressed purpose of the mural program. In this way, *The evolution of electricity* can be read as a display that identifies some of the key players (John Armbruster and Calgary Power/TransAlta Utilities) in the development of Stony Plain's electrical infrastructure, and as the depiction of how the development and implementation of electricity changes and continues to change people's lives. For example, the development of electricity and electrical artefacts changed settlers' lives by: giving people access to the outside world (see: women around the radio), making domestic skills easier[35] (see: woman washing clothes), and/or by generating employment for local people (see: men on transmission pole and electrical generating station on bridge).

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[35] I recognize the issues of improved quality of life via access to washing machines, dishwashers and so forth, is up for debate.

Heritage tourism

Within the context of traditional museum[36] representation, Stony Plain's murals are intended to be read by visitors as authentic and accurate accounts of Stony Plain's historic development (Murals Committee, 2001). Although Jordanova (1989) was speaking about how museum display and interpretation framed "the context" through which an item could be read, her statement can be usefully applied to how other discourses (contexts) shape and determine how objects can be read. Heritage tourism (as community development) and corporate advertising are two significant contexts through which Stony Plain's mural representations can be read, and should be critiqued.

Graham (2002) described heritage as "the ways in which very selective material artefacts, mythologies, memories and traditions become resources for the present" (p. 1004). In the case of Stony Plain, the museum form as well as Stony Plain's settlement memories, mythologies and traditions have been appropriated (by the municipality, service organizations, businesses, and residents) as resources for community/economic development within the tourist industry. The murals are strategically located in Stony Plain's downtown (business) core to "encourage tourists and visitors to [come into] town with an attraction that is 'always open' and not too time consuming[37]" (Murals Committee, 2001, p. ii).

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[36] I use the term "traditional museum" because museum theorists, curators and workers recognize the problem of representation (e.g. the ability to represent cultural material and relationships accurately and comprehensively) as well as the problem that institutional authority plays in the representation of culture (Vergo, 1989)

In addition to the mural program's function as a tourist attraction, the program operates within the broader context of community/economic development for the Town (municipal government, businesses and service organizations). The success of the mural program and affiliated development (e.g. museum infrastructure, community beautification and Main Street rejuvenation) are used to market Stony Plain, itself. The heritage infrastructure and beautification program is deployed to show outsiders Stony Plain's "civic pride" (Murals Committee, 2001, p. ii), entrepreneurial spirit and economic potential. The representation of positive communal and economic qualities is expected to attract new residents and capital. The images represented within Stony Plain's mural program, therefore can also be read within the context of contemporary tourist promotion and community/economic development.

The evolution of electricity exemplifies how the theme and content of a mural can be structured and displayed to show positive images of community (e.g. family, friends, multiculturalism, tolerance, safety, security, success, wealth, and so forth) that in turn represents contemporary Stony Plain as a desirable destination in today's competitive residential, business and tourist economies[38]. Positive community image can be read through the celebratory tone that pervades the mural. The theme (which is incidentally the most common theme celebrated by the mural program) is: settlement past making successful present and motivating glorious future. The mural illustrates the theme by following the evolution of electricity from its entrepreneurial start (with electrical production provided by leading citizen and businessman John Armbruster), to its magnificent corporate manifestation (with service provide from "Canada's largest supplier of de-regulated energy")[39], to its culmination in the eagerly anticipated "promises of an unknown future" (symbolized by "two youths are reaching out towards [the promising future]".

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[37] It is hoped that tourist time spent "consuming", that is, spending money at the downtown businesses.

[38] Paul du Gay (1997) gives a clear account of how image production operates with the global econom(y/ies).

Stony Plain's contemporary community image is also bolstered by the absence of conflict within the mural representations. Conflict-free representations of harmonious communal interactions prevail. Mural visitors can see happy friendships play out as the women gather around the radio to listen to the news of the world, or listen to the latest radio play (see bottom right, Figure 4-11). Tolerance and multicultural respect might capture the viewers' imagination, as they gaze upon the colourful beadwork and flowing eagle feather headdresses the three First Nations[40] people. The positive and (obviously) productive labour relationship between Calgary Power/TransAlta Utilities and its employees depicted (in almost mythic terms). The workers serve as the foundation upon which both the generating giant's infrastructure and the (bridge to the) future is built.

Corporate advertising

The preceding examples expose how mural programs and murals, like *The evolution of electricity* can be used to frame Stony Plain so that visitors can read the town as a good, productive, wealthy and progressive community and heritage site/sight. The presence of Calgary Power/TransAlta Utilities in *The evolution of electricity* is not coincidental. Indeed, if the content of the mural program can be read as an advertisement for contemporary social and economic virtues of Stony Plain, then content of *The evolution of electricity* can be read as an advertisement for the good corporate citizenship of contemporary TransAlta Utilities.

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[39] www.transaltautilities.com

[40] Two of the people are not First Nations, however, unless one takes the mural tour proper (i.e. with guide), one would not learn this. The images are left to stand on their own. I return to this critique this image later in the section.

The mural program is not intended to be read as advertising. The integrity of the mural program as museum program (i.e. accurate representations of Stony Plain's history) is supposed to be protected by a municipal land use bylaw. The bylaw "defines a mural as 'a visual depiction of a person, location, event or thing which provides and constitutes an amenity, and does not serve any advertising purpose" (Murals Committee, 2001, p. 3). In 1994, however, provincial government funding for the mural program ran out, and the Town of Stony Plain was forced to look for funding from service organizations, private citizens and corporate sponsors.

Moira McLoughlin (1999) clearly states the dilemma that both municipalities and museums are under: "[b]udgets that are increasingly threatened by cuts have pushed the museum out into the community, where its potential visitors and donors have often made their participation dependent on the inclusion of their voice" (p. 238). The mural committee appears to negotiate and neutralize the issue of sponsorship voice/advertising by inviting "the funding source…to sit on the Murals committee for that specific project", but limiting that sponsor's role to "an advisory, non-voting capacity" (Murals Committee, 2002, p. 5).

The market logic that guides tourism as community development however, is perhaps more commensurable with corporate sponsorship/advertising than with the (supposedly) objective, neutral and authentic representation that is often associated with traditional museum display. Stony Plain's mural program is (in part) motivated by tourism's economic allure which potential improves with through the production of positive public/corporate image. In the same way, corporations are motivated by profit and potentially benefit from acts of corporate citizenship and the production of positive public image. Indeed, foregrounding corporate sponsorship and the complex relationships between corporations and the communities they are part of could make for interesting, challenging mural/museum representations and reads.

As I alluded to earlier, TransAlta Utilities' sponsorship of the mural, in all likelihood accounts for the theme of the mural (the evolution of electricity) and the prominent and positive way in which the corporation is represented and can be read. The positive representation of Calgary Power/Transalta can be read as the company's promotion of itself to the public as a good corporate citizen, and the capitulation of the Mural committee (ergo integrity of the mural program) to the pressures of corporate sponsorship. However, one could also read Calgary Power/TransAlta's presence in the mural the illustration of the corporation's role in/impact on the local region and province. For example, Calgary Power/TransAlta Utilities has been operating in the Province since 1909 (IEEE Canada, 2000) is Alberta's largest electrical generation company. As well, Calgary Power/TransAlta Utilities has been a major employer in the Stony Plain area since 1954, when the company commissioned the first of three coal-fired generating stations by Wabamun Lake.

How does one read the Stoney Images?

The images of the three Stoney Chiefs[41] are perhaps the most difficult for viewers to read. The headdresses and beadwork on the headdresses would likely be intelligible to mural readers/viewers as signifiers of 'Indian-ness" or 'First Nations-ness' to many of the mural's viewers. Apart from the visible markers of 'Indian-ness', however, the only other context a self-guided tourist might have is that these people correspond to "some of the *personalities* that have actively been involved in the establishment and development of related services in the area" (Murals guide, 2003, emphasis added).

First Nation scholar Gloria Frank (2000), however, would probably find the mural's lack of context about (the) Native representations unremarkable. Frank explains that while First Nations people and cultures have been the objects of extensive museum study and representation since the mid-nineteenth century, (traditional) museums construct and museum visitors read First Nations representations in very limited ways. McLoughlin (1999) concurs, suggesting that traditional museum representations often confine First Nations' representations (ergo cultures) to an unrealistic, romanticized pre-contact pasts. Subsequently, readers who are normalized through such representations often associate images of traditionally clad or ceremonially clad Indigenous people with knowledge/nostalgia about primitive pre-contact/early contact people. In light of popular pre-contact sentiment, it is possible that *The evolution of electricity* readers may simply read the three Chiefs as signifying the lowest rung on the evolutionary ladder of electricity ('pre-contact' means no electricity).

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[41] I will qualify/clarify my use of the phrase "three Stoney Chiefs" in a moment.

If mural visitors, however, were familiar with the Stony Plain region, local First Nations and TransAlta Utilities operations at Wabamun Lake, then they might also be able to construct a different read the Chief text. For example, when I first saw the mural, I assumed that the Chiefs were perhaps representations of Stoney men from the Paul and/or Alexis Nations. I based my interpretation of these three heads on two assumptions. One, I assumed the headdresses signified Aboriginal-ness. Two, since the mural project was about Stony Plain/local electrical heritage and was sponsored by TransAlta Utilities, I thought the images must represented relationships between the corporation and two local First Nations who have reserves near the company's operations at Wabamun Lake. As a result of this association, I assumed the corporation probably has land use arrangements with the Paul Nation, since Calgary Power/TransAlta's generating stations and the mines that fuel them border the Paul Nation (which is located at the east end of Wabamun Lake). As well, I assumed the corporation probably has access agreements with the Alexis Nation, since one of Calgary Power/TransAlta's main transmission lines runs north from the Wabamun generating station to bi-sect the Alexis' Nations land at Lac Ste. Anne.

Are the Stoney Chiefs... 'White'?: Producing [an]other read

As the reader of my essay can infer, context produces and often reinforces knowledge about social relationships. In doing so, social texts (such as the mural[s]) work to make the world intelligible for readers. As the preceding section illustrates, and as Stuart Hall (1997) describes, "[m]eaning is constantly being produced and exchanged in every personal and social interaction" (p. 3). The mural text in conjunction with the mural guide[42], and the viewer's social knowledge/location provide several contexts through which the mural viewer might structure his/her read(s) of *The evolution of electricity*. The Stoney Chiefs, however, (still) pose problems for the intrepid mural tourist. How is one (or, should[43]) to frame the 'whiteness' of two of these First Nations images; what kind of knowledge does this representation produce about the relationship between First Nation and non-First Nation people, and finally, can the dominant relationship produced in the representation be read differently?

Are the Stoney Chiefs... 'White'?

In order for a (/an intrepid) mural visitor and/or mural tourist to put the White-ness of the two Stoney Chief into (different) context(s), he or she must take the Multicultural Heritage Centre's guided mural tour, ask the museum director about the images, and/or read the mural guide's training script. If one were to perform these acts, one might hear/learn/read the following information:

> John Armbruster [the bespectacled man on the far right], mayor and prominent Stony Plain citizen and businessman, is pictured with Honorary Chief "Powerful Waters" [the middle (white) Chief], and Princess "Blue Rippling Waters" [(white) Princess on the left], alias Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey Gaherty, and a Stoney Chief [Chief next to John Armbruster]; Chieftainship was bestowed in 1960 to denote good relations between the first people and Calgary Power [currently TransAlta Utilities] (Heritage Agricultural Society, n.d.).

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[42] I am referring to self-guided, mural guide.

[43] Stuart Hall, describes race "as a floating signifier" (Hall in Lidchi 1997, p. 161). As a floating signifier, race conveys particular worldviews at particular times with in particular bodies of knowledge. The identification of other based on particular racial knowledge can be problematic

One learns the following context from this interpretive text: the two White-looking Chiefs are indeed non-First Nation people (Mr. and Mrs. Gaherty). The other Chief is un-named[44] [45], but Stoney. The representation is not of pre-contact past, but of the 1960s. The Gaherty's had very good relationships with the Stoney people therefore the Stoney bestowed honorary names and Chieftain status on Mr. Gaherty and Princess status upon Mrs. Gaherty. Finally, Calgary Power had such good relationships with the Gaherty's that contemporary TransAlta Utilities appropriated the images/Honorary Chieftainship to "denote good relations [/contemporary corporate citizenship] between the first people and TransAlta Utilities/Calgary Power and between TransAlta Utilities and Stony Plain[46].

Dominant contexts, dominant reads

Gloria Frank (2000) and Moira McLoughlin (1999) describe how dominant museum (and popular) representations of Aboriginal people depoliticize and marginalize contemporary First Nation voices and concerns in mainstream Canadian society. The persistent practice of representing Indigenous people as traditional (i.e. pre-contact/early contact primitives) has confined First Nation people to the past within dominant Western mindsets. The confinement of

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[44] Although, this person is un-named (which as Gloria Frank, 2000 and Thomas King, 2003 remind us is not uncommon in dominant productions/re-productions of First Nations images), he may be one of the following Chiefs from the Wesley, Bearspaw or Chiniki Stoney Nations (at Morley, west of Calgary): Isaac Two Young Men, Johnny Bearspaw, Dan Wildman, or Jake Two Young Men. These Chiefs presided over the induction ceremony of Mr. Gaherty (Gaherty Ceremony, 1960).

[45] I want to thank the Gaherty family for providing me with the invitation and script of the induction ceremony. I appreciate their kindness and generosity.

[46] As you, the skilful reader may have noticed, I subscribe to the context that *The evolution of electricity* is an advertisement representing TransAlta Utilities as a good, inclusive and respectable corporate citizen. It is also important and ironic, to recognize that the Chief image has limited ties to the Stony Plain area. The Stoney Nations in question consider themselves friendly with, but distinct from the Paul and Alexis Stoney Nations. As well, Gaherty's name "Chief of Powerful Waters" derives from Calgary Power's Dam and Hydro- generation operation of Southern Alberta, not the coal-fired generation of TransAlta's local operation.

Indigenous people to pre-contact/early contact representations and/or interpretations produce Aboriginal people as natural beings (McLoughlin, 1999) for most Euro-North American readers. The natural distinction is an important distinction to make because it creates the conditions through which dominant culture can know, dismiss and marginalize First Nations[47].

The natural distinction works primarily in two ways. First, it confines "real" Indians and "real" Indian-ness to an unrealistic, westernized romantic past (McLoughlin, 1999), instead of active players in contemporary Canadian life (Frank, 2000). Second, the natural distinction makes Indigenous people victims of progress who may have survived the past but who struggle to care for themselves, or who have been/are "shattered" by the complexity of the modern, civilized world (Frank, 2000). The production of Aboriginal people and cultures in such ways create the conditions through which paternalistic, dismissive (Western) social interventions can be made and oppressive, marginalizing, depoliticising social structures operationalized and justified. The distinct also makes it difficult for Canada's immigrant/dominant culture to regard Aboriginals as equal, fully participating citizens within the Canadian State (Valaskakis, 1993a).

The interpretation of the *The evolution of electricity* provided by mural guide training script can be framed and read through the natural/paternalistic coupling commonly associated with relationships between First Nations and colonial institutions. For example, the investment of honorary Chieftainship can be read as a paternalistic relationship. On the one hand, Calgary Power/TransAlta Utilities' can be read as the fulfillment of colonial settlement ambition. The company is a successful corporate giant and testament to settlement ingenuity and entrepreneurial spirit. While on the other hand, the Stoney are the remnants of a tribal people, living on the fringe of the civilization (e.g. Calgary). Calgary Power/TransAlta Utilities is situated as the powerful one in the relationship because of the company's obvious economic and political success . What could the Stoney possibly offer to the corporate giant?[48] In this context, Calgary Power (symbolized by Calgary Power's fourth and longest serving president [1928-1960][49] Gaherty) is rewarded/honoured for somehow taking care of the Stoney and showing them how to properly develop nature's resources. In addition, contemporary TransAlta Utilities appropriation of the Stoney/Calgary Power relationship and sponsorship of one of Stony Plain's mural perpetuates the conceptualization of the contemporary corporation as a well intentioned, civically responsible/caring corporate father (to the Stoney and Stony Plain).

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[47] The legacy of colonial knowledge and disenfranchisement are exemplified by racist, paternalistic forms like: treaties, assignment of Indian agents to reserves, residential school systems, widespread poverty and pervasive unemployment on reserves and non-urban settings, police harassment and injustice toward Aboriginals, and so forth (Cairns, 2000; King, 2003)

Producing a different context, framing a different read

Gail Valaskakis (1993a) counters dominant representations of First Nations as people lost to the past by stating:

> Native culture is not frozen in the past of representations forged in ethnographic and artistic practice. And Native traditionalism is neither lost in transformation nor revived as a privileged form of resistance. Native culture is living traditionalism: the practice of everyday life experience collectively and individually as heritage, a multi-vocal past re-enacted daily in the ambiguous play of power and identity (p. 6)

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[48] The fact that the Stoney have land, natural resources and human resources is undermined by/lost within the paternalist attitudes and structures of colonial agents (Crown, corporation and public).

[49] See: Canada IEEE, 2000.

Gloria Frank (2000) builds off of a sentiment similar to Valaskakis. Frank suggests that one of her goals for critiquing how traditional Western museums represent Aboriginal peoples, cultures and material artefacts is motivated by her desire "to argue that First Nations peoples are not dead but still live in the here and now" (p. 164). The deployment of other representations and other contexts, Frank argues can expose the shared history(y/ies) and politicize the complex relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, as well as foreground the complex realities of contemporary Aboriginal life to mainstream audiences. In this section, I produce a different context through which to read the Stoney investment of Honorary Chieftainship to Gaherty. I examine how cultural difference frames the "gift giving"[50] [51] relationship between the Stony and Gaherty/Calgary Power.

The Honorary Chieftainship can be framed within the context of "gift giving" in Aboriginal societies. Unlike Western contractual obligations (characterized by limited and equitable exchanges of goods or services between parties), the exchange of gifts within Aboriginal cultures is performed to establish relationships. The distribution of property is not about accumulation of wealth or private property instead value is based upon the act of giving as a sign of respect and mutual obligation (McPherson, 1997). In this way, when one accepts gifts, one is also accepting the relationship of the giver and the responsibilities associated with that relationship (Innes, 1999; Miller, 2002; McPherson, 1997). Once gifts are exchanged and accepted, the relationship that the gift giving process spawns has to be sustained, nurtured, negotiated and worked upon. The gift giving process establishes a system of obligation, which is not predicated upon an exchange of gifts of equivalent value, "[r]epayment was based on need and was not necessarily equivalent. The social obligation to assist was more important than equalizing the assistance given" (Miller, 2002, p. 223).

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[50] "Gift giving" is a cultural form of obligation and reciprocity that operate in many First Nation cultures, and differs between cultures.

[51] I want to remind readers that my account of Stoney gift giving is extremely limited. I am using gift giving as an example of how a different read of the mural's Chief images may be produced.

The staggering difference between colonial (limited) contracts and Aboriginal processes obligation, affiliation and negotiation, therefore complicate historic and contemporary Canadian/Aboriginal relationships. For example, Treaties negations between First Nations and the Canadian Crown/State are complicated by fact that First Nations and the Crown were negotiating through two very different views about contract, obligation and fair/reasonable exchange (although this is not to say that both parties were necessarily ignorant of the differences) (Innes, 1999). For example, Innes (1999) argues that several of the Cree signatories of Treaties Four and Six were well aware of European conceptualizations of private property and the implications of private property for (European biased) treaty results, but that European negotiators and signatories were (through either ignorance, arrogance, or design) unable or unwilling to conceptualize Aboriginal negotiation strategies and the nature of the obligations to which they (as representatives of colonial interests) were agreeing.

The ceremony to make Geoffrey Gaherty an Honorary Chief of the Wesley, Bearspaw and Chiniki Stoney Nations must therefore be understood through complex, contradictory and asymmetrical (power) interactions between colonial conceptions of contractual obligation and Aboriginal conceptions of exchange/obligation, as well as the specific relationship that Calgary Power started with the Stony in 1907 (the sale/surrender of Horseshoe Falls by the Stoney to Calgary Power). I read these relationships within the context of Gaherty's Honorary Chieftainship.

The exchange of clothing and headdress determine the nature of the relationship between the Stoney and Gaherty. Gifts of clothing denote the relationship of brother, and carry with it the obligations of brotherhood (usually involving, the recognition of pre-established mutual respect, the smoothing over of hostilities and/or a reminder about the nature of /expectations associated with previous kinship arrangements) (Miller, 2002).[52] During the ceremony Stoney, ritually dress and name Gaherty, "Chief of Powerful Waters". The name reminds Gaherty and Calgary Power (who Gaherty is representative) of the length of the relationship (since 1907), the nature of the relationship (the surrender of Stoney Land at Horseshoe Falls for Calgary Power's Bow River Dam and Generating Station[53]) and obligations underpinning the relationship (the continued negotiation and exchange of mutual gifts/obligations).

Chief Jake Two Young Men presents the Gaherty and his name Chief of Powerful Waters to the assembled public. Two Young Men then publicly announces the Stoney obligation to the new Chief/brother:

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[52] Miller's reference is to the Anishinaabeg specifically, but she does speak to kinship ties that span First Nations cultures.

[53] There were also two other land sales/surrenders by the Stoney to Calgary Power (Kananaskis, 1911 and Ghost River, 1947). There have been subsequent land claims in relation to these surrenders against both Calgary Power/TransAlta Utilities and the Federal Government. TransAlta Utilities, if I understand the claims correctly has tried to create distance from Calgary Power's obligations by claiming it (TransAlta) is a third party buyer of the propert(y/ies). Since TransAlta Utilities purchased the land from itself/Calgary Power, it is therefore, no longer responsible for Calgary Power's previous negotiations or obligations to the Stoney (Stoney v. Queen, 2004).

> O, Great Chief of Powerful Waters, to you I tell you these words of the Stoney's obligation to you:
>
> Now listen to these words. These are the words of the Stoney Indians to you. The Tribe's teepees will always be open to your wants, bed and food will always be there to satisfy, cold will be protected from you with our robes and fires, horses and bows and arrows will be yours to take if you have none and the enemy pursues you. All is yours in time of stress that you may take as you desire from any brother's tepee. They will succor [sic] you in every manner and help you on your way (Gaherty ceremony, 1960).

Councillor Eddie Hunter then addresses Gaherty. Hunter publicly states what Gaherty's obligations are to the Stoney and sees if Gaherty will accept the gifts and the responsibilities that go with the exchange:

> Now, "Great Chief of Powerful Waters" once more listen. Here are your obligations to the Stoney's. Repeat after me the following words: At all times and places, be it in the hills, the mountains or the prairie, I will give to any of the Stoney people the same way they have given to me, by each plume of the Eagle bonnet I have promised never to betray your brotherhood trust (Gaherty ceremony, 1960).

The gift exchange, and the obligations and responsibilities that accompany the exchange are important aspects of the ceremony. The community is aware of the exchange and the obligations that now tie them all together. It is important to note the personal nature of the exchange. Respect is a central aspect of the relationship, and Gaherty/Chief of Powerful Waters is singled-out as someone who can be trusted to fulfill his obligations to the people and who will not "betray the brotherhood". The personal nature of the address positions Gaherty/Chief of Powerful Waters as reliable, trust-worthy representative of Stoney concerns within Stoney/Calgary Power relationships/negotiations.[54]

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[54] Although the making of Gaherty an Honorary Chief could be viewed as a strategic move within Western-style contract negotiations, it is important to recognize that Gaherty understood the nature of his relationship with the Stoney people and performed/acted as a friend during his tenure as

Gaherty's return address to the gathering is, perhaps more difficult to read in terms of Aboriginal conceptions of reciprocity. His speech is formal in a Western high culture/business culture way. It is respectful and appreciative of the gift/honour that the Stoney bestowed upon him:

> To my new brothers of the Stoney Indian tribe I bring greetings and good wishes. So long as the sun may shine, so long as the rivers run their course, may we smoke the pipe of peace together, do all the things that the Great Father in Heaven will smile to see us do.
>
> May we in peace and harmony join together in the work of progress, to make this land a better place for all. May we do this in the name of the kind, benevolent and beautiful Queen who is the great, great granddaughter of the Queen who was the firm friend of your forefathers. On this I pledge my word and offer you my hand of friendship. To mark this occasion I have a small presentation to make to you, which I hope will remind you of this happy occasion (Gaherty ceremony, 1960).

The speech, however, does emphasize the cognitive divide between Aboriginal worldview and Colonial worldview, and reinforces the goals of Western development, progress and the civilized good life[55].

Implications of other contexts and other reads

Gloria Frank (2000) suggests that it is import to provide extensive context for museum representations of First Nation cultural and material artefacts. Supplementary details provide the museum visitor with different knowledge. Additional context creates opportunities different reads about the complexity of

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President of Calgary Power. For example Gaherty's son reflected in the following way upon the relationship between his father and the Stoney. Gaherty, Sr. was granted Chieftain status "largely because he had always treated the Stoneys fairly in all his years with Calgary Power, befriending them, hiring them, treating them with respect. Around the same time he received honorary degrees from the University of Alberta and the University of New Brunswick, but he always regarded his honorary chieftainship in the Stoneys with greater pride, because he really felt he had earned it" (in email conversation).

[55] The colonial presence at the ceremony is also important to note. The end of the ceremony is marked by speeches from several colonial interests (e.g. the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, a judge, a school agent, the Superintendent of R.C.M.P, and so forth). The content of the speeches made by these people was not indicated in the ceremony script.

social relationships, the inequity of relationships of power and of social knowledge. The production of other reads however must also be recognized for its disruptive, contradictory and destabilizing possibilities. An interpretation produced around the representation of *The evolution of electricity's* gift exchange, for example would not be a normalized, popular construction of corporate community relations through public heritage art; and, it could open up and politicize the shared (although, largely complex, contradictory and unequal) history and relationships between First Nations and non-First Nations.

Many faces, one heart: Different and/or unequal

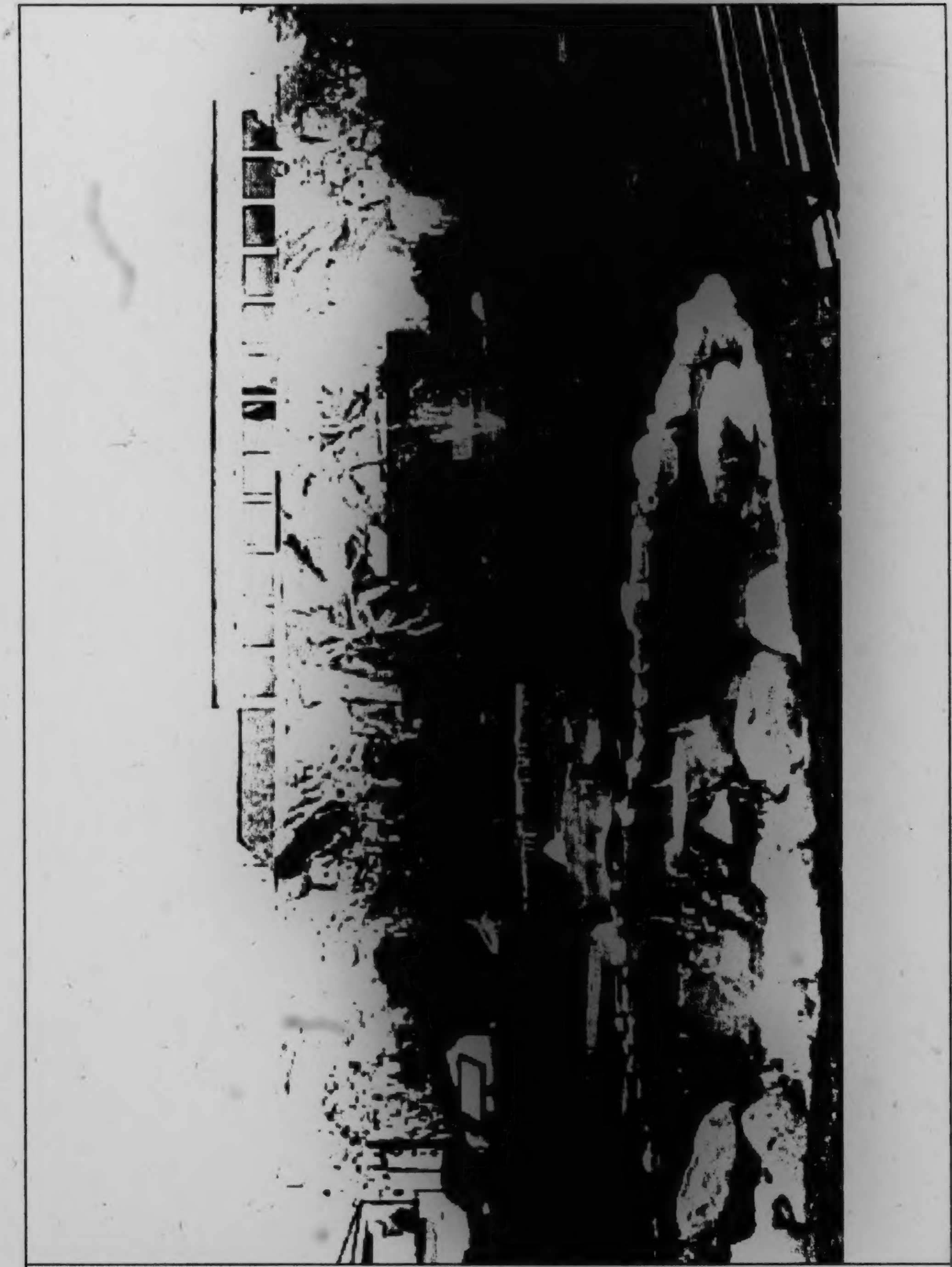

Figure 4-12. *Many faces, one heart* (Heimdal, 1991)

Many faces, one heart

The People shown in this mural, past and present, are from Stony Plain and area. Their ethnic backgrounds are represented by the colorful flags in honor of the town's multiculturalism.

From left to right:

ANDREW ANDERSON, (b.1880 -Sweden) was an excellent artist, and often called the friendly giant because of his large stature and kind nature;

ALEXIS WABAMUN (Kees-kee-hee-chi), a Stoney Indian Chief of the Alexis or Wabamun band, lived to be 111 years old;

PHILIPINE STRASSBURGER is of German descent. The Strassburgers were known for their produce and livestock; ROSS NEWELL came from Iowa, USA in 1899 at the age of 54. He was a blind fiddler and remembered for his friendly disposition and musical talent;

STEPHEN HARRY KETTLE arrived in 1913 from England. He helped publish one of the early newspapers;

OTTO WILKIN was born in this area in 1913. His mother, Annie, was the first white child born west of Edmonton. His grandfather, John L. MacDonald, also born in Canada, was the first settler west of Stony Plain. Although of **distant** Scottish and German descent, it is fair to say that he is "**truly Canadian**"; HUGHIE MacKINNON, of Scottish descent, was known for his talent on the bagpipes;

JULIA (KOTCHEROFSKY) KULAK represents the Ukrainian / Russian culture. She is shown drawing water from a well on her father's homestead:

JACKIE GREORWICH is a member of the local Ukrainian dance group . She represents the "pioneers of tomorrow"; WONG YORK, the fist Chinese person in Stony Plain, operating a laundry, rooming house, and café on Main Street in the early 1900;

EVA ARMBRUSTER, born in 1840 in Galizien, Austria, represents the Austro-Hungarian culture;

HENRY OPPERTSHAUSER Sr. of German origin, was a prominent pioneer businessman of the area. He operated the Oppertshauser and Sons Hardware Store on the old Stony Plain town site, and later moved to the present town site. He built the Oppertshauser House in 1910, now located beside the Multicultural heritage Centre.

The location of this mural is significant in that Shikaoi Park honours Stony Plain's relationship with its sister town Shikaoi, Japan.

(Mural Plaque, 1991, emphasis added)

I could speak to the *Many faces, one heart* mural in a number of different ways. I could address how (Stoney) Alexis Wabamun's image was appropriated for Stony Plain's use and benefit within a competitive global tourism market. In that version, I could show how the Euro-Canadian (dominant) settlement dream (i.e. settlement as endless source of opportunity, wealth and progress) has been undermined by globalization. In the context of the mass movement of people, capital and resources in a highly competitive global economy, Stony Plain has produced a comprehensive heritage infrastructure that necessitated the representation of itself (through that heritage infrastructure) as a traditional, hardworking, friendly, successful, economically motivated community. The reflection of multicultural themes is part of the Stony Plain's overall production of a good community image (an image that helps to attract tourists, new residents and business to Stony Plain's wholesome, stable, secure, conflict free environment).

I could also take up *Many faces, one heart by* describing Stony Plain's multicultural themes, and the use of Indian images as a "peculiar form of homogenization", an absorptive homogenization (Hall, 1997, p. 179). Absorptive homogenization, also linked to global mass culture, is centred in the West and characterized by western forms of technologies, capital, advanced labour, as well as the proliferation of western imagery. Hall's conceptualization of absorptive homogenization is useful for explaining the social processes and relations of power that are circulating within Stony Plain's multicultural themed murals because absorptive homogenization does not try to eradicate the other or difference. Instead, it tries to operate through them, and in so doing polices the boundaries of acceptability from within. Difference, circulates within heritage infrastructure but it is how these differences are constructed, circulated and taken up for strategic socio-economic and political purposes that is problematic (i.e. the construction of the Indian Chief image to signify Indian-ness and to serve as a standard against which progress can be measured; and/or, the use of Indian Chief imagery as a display of corporate citizenship).

The concept of absorptive homogenization, works particularly well as a basis for the critique of multiculturalism within *Many faces, one heart* (Heimdal, 1991). Absorptive homogenization can be examined within the context of postmodern racism. jagodzinski (1996) outlines postmodern racism and characterizes it as follows: "...the democratic parading of cultural pluralism as a means to preserve dominant hegemony and national identity while at the same time appearing tolerant, inquisitive, helpful and respectful of the Other" (jagodzinski, 1996: 320). It is based in a notion of essentialist difference, where difference is democratized through distinct categories of exclusion . These categories, within postmodern fragmentation, are not limited to race, but can encompass distinct difference as they occur within categories such as race, ethnicity, sexual preference, or gender (Balibar in jagodzinski, 1996).

Difference, within postmodern racism, parades as a "democratic solution" and "racial tension exists only as the incompatible differences between cultures, lifestyles, sexual preferences, traditions and so forth" (jagodzinski, 1996, p. 321). In this sense, difference is displayed in *Many faces, one heart* but it is a difference predicated in belief that one is able to access the essence of a particular culture, such as the 'German,' Henry Oppertshauser, Sr. or the 'Stoney,' Alexis Wabamun. Given how colonial cultures have constructed Indians and Indian-ness, as well as the social effects of these constructions, appeals to essentialist identity is fraught with complications. These differences, however, are rendered naturalized or depoliticised as acceptable differences within discourses of multiculturalism.

I could also address how Stony Plain's multicultural representations absorb difference (assimilates it into the same) through tactics and strategies of support and acceptance. Featherstone, by way of a brief example suggests that this drive to accept difference is particularly prevalent within "societies that have been settled by Europeans (Canada, United States, Australia and New Zealand) in which various indigenous local affiliations as well the maintenance of imagined communities on the part of immigrant groups, has pushed the questions of multiculturalism and respect for local cultures onto the agenda" (Featherstone, 1993, p. 182).

In light of deeply entrenched colonial attitudes and racist institutions, one could ask the following question about multicultural themed representations, such as *Many Faces, One Heart* is: Whose 'one heart' is being represented? Is the heart that beats within each person a "Canadian" heart, even though his or her outward appearance reveals distinct although acceptable cultural difference? Multicultural themed representations silence the dissonance of past social injustices, and historically rooted racial and ethnic tensions get harmonized through the democratization of difference. Did Stoney Alexis Wabamun receive the same respect and treatment as German Henry Oppertshauser during their lives as residents of the Stony Plain area? Was First Nation Alexis Wabamun regarded like "**[distant]** Scottish and German" Otto Wilken as "truly Canadian"? Probably not, but this mural (within contemporary multicultural discourses) conflates their social status to suggest equal but different.

I have chosen to speak to *Many faces, one heart* by telling a story about the grand opening of Shikaoi Park in 1988 (three years before *Many faces, one heart* was painted on the town office wall that boarders Shikaoi Park). I want to tell the story of the Shikaoi Park opening because I think it speaks quite well to the place of First Nation people within mainstream, multicultural Canadian society; and, I also believe it speaks even louder to how dominant culture is unable or unwilling "to recognize their whiteness [and] their white privilege" (Maart, 1993, p. 46) when "they" appropriate and represent the images, artefacts and cultural knowledge of the other (e.g. First Nations' images, or traditional dance at multicultural events).

Inequality in the multicultural Canadian family: A story of twin[ned] sisters and native brothers[56]

This is a story about the day Stony Plain celebrated one of its "multicultural event[s]" ("Japanese mayors", 1988, p. A1). On August 30, 1988, the Town of Stony Plain along with its "sister"[57] the Town of Shikaoi, Japan dedicated and opened Shikaoi Park. Shikaoi Park is a Japanese garden[58] that the Town of Stony

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[56] I am embedding the critical commentary in footnotes purposely, as a way of exposing how multicultural discourses circulate with very little critical commentary.

[57] "Sister" is the official term used to describe the twinning relationship. The process of twinning municipalities in Alberta with municipalities in Japan began in the 1980s. The twinning is intended to promote cultural exchanges as well as mutually beneficial economic opportunities and ties. Stony Plain's participation in the twinning exercise can be read as an example of competing in the fiercely global economy. I mark the sister relationship as well to point out the parity in the relationship between Shikaoi and Stony Plain. Stony Plain's sisterly relationship with Shikaoi is regarded as a partnership between equals.

[58] The garden is located next to Stony Plain's town hall. Shikaoi Park was home of *Many faces, one heart* from 1991 until 2003, when it was destroyed in order for Stony Plain to build a new

Plain received as a gift from her sister, the Town of Shikaoi. In order to celebrate the beautiful gift, and the good relationship with her sister, Stony Plain threw a party. The whole town was invited, along with "dignitaries", honoured guests from Shikaoi, and "native dancers" ("Japanese mayors", 1988, p. A1). It was a great party. Some people gave speeches about the warm friendly relationships between the sisters, the need for more co-operation and understanding between different cultures, and the hope and possibilities that these kinds of cultural exchanges create. There were also refreshments and entertainment[59].

"At the reception following the grand opening of Shikaoi Park" ("Japanese mayors", 1988, p. A2), Chief Mustus introduced the traditionally costumed native dancers and drummers. While introducing the Rainbow Dancers, Chief Mustus pointed out that "native people want to establish working relationships with their 'white brothers'[60], similar to the friendly relations Stony Plain and [*her generous*

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town hall. In an ironic aside, I want to point out that the mural's location in Shikaoi Park was totally complementary to the Town's multicultural approach. Local residents also adored the mural/park combination did not try to incorporate the re-commissioned mural onto the new town hall.

[59] Thomas King (2003) said "somewhere along the way, we [Aboriginals] ceased being people and somehow became performers in an Aboriginal minstrel show for White North America" (p. 68). I talked earlier about the Buffalo Bill's *Wild West Show*, the Calgary Stampede and Banff Indian Days. Spectacles like these helped to construct First Nation people, their images and cultural ceremonies as commodities for Euro-North American audiences. Although contemporary Pow wow celebrations are for First Nation People meaningful expressions about "a way of life and one of the most forceful manifestations of Indian cultural beliefs", to "non-Native[s], Pow wow is a performance of traditional Native cultural forms, transformed and appropriated" (Valaskakis, 1993b, p. 40). Although, the Rainbow Dancer's were performing meaningful aspects of First Nation cultural traditions, it is very likely that their presence as dancers signified entertainment and Canadiana to the non-Native audience and tourists.

[60] The inverted commas were part of the *Stony Plain Reporter's* original text. The emphasis added by the inclusion of the inverted commas is very important. I read the emphasis as a dismissive act of intervention on Mustus' concerns. Mustus disrupts the multicultural celebration by publicly declaring that dominant Canadian/Stony Plain culture does not have a familial relationship with her "native brothers". What is worse is Potts disrupts the proceedings by pointing out that dominant culture is attacking Native peoples' cultures and concerns through systematic racist forms. The inverted commas around 'native brothers' is a signal to dominant audiences to not take his concerns seriously. The author of the article, and probably the (dominant) audience probably

twin sister][61] Shikaoi" share ("Japanese mayors", 1988, p. A2, italics' mine). Later on, after the dance performance, Mr. Potts, an organizer of the dancers, told the *Stony Plain Reporter* "that for many years the native culture has been under attack[62]. By forming groups such as the Rainbow Dancers his people are attempting to strengthen and preserve their heritage" (p. A2).

Stony Plain and her twin sister, Shikaoi continue to have a wonderful relationship, and every year the sisters participate in cultural and educational exchanges. The two sisters have not gone into any family businesses together, but are still content to keep visiting and examining the potential for future business partnerships. Nor, has Stony Plain forgotten her native brothers. She has placed some portraits of her traditionally clad native brothers on the walls of downtown businesses for all visitors to Stony Plain to see and, occasionally, Stony Plain invites her native brothers back to dance at celebrations[63].

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misses the irony in Mustus and Potts' statement as well. The representation of Stony Plain and Shikaoi as "sisters" is not scrutinized/acceptable, and dominant culture is unable/unwilling to enter into an respectable/reasonable "brotherly" relation with (local/everyday present) First Nations people. In addition, Mustus comments can be regarded as an attempt to open negotiations with Stony Plain, under the same conditions that Shikaoi gets to negotiate her relationship with Stony Plain.

[61] Stony Plain's sisterly relationship with Shikaoi is regarded as a partnership between equals. Ironically however, Stony Plain has reaped perhaps more of the concrete benefits (i.e. Shikaoi Park, a yearly [week long] cultural/educational/tourist exchange that sees over 100 Japanese students visit Stony Plain, as well tourism from Shikaoi to Stony Plain has increased). In other words, the exchange is largely one-way: Shikaoi to Stony Plain.

[62] See: footnote 59.

[63] Through the mural program, Stony Plain is willing to maintain its relationship of domination and appropriation of first Nations culture and images for use in the tourist business.

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Postscript

Why it would be productive to read my essays about Stony Plain?

During public presentations and informal discussions of my work with others, a common question emerged: Do people in Stony Plain know that you do this work? The question is an interesting one because in it is asking, the questioners recognize that (some of) Stony Plain's community/communal relations and configurations have been exposed. My Stony Plain stories disrupt normative conceptions of Stony Plain as an organic, whole community, and in so doing (the questioner assumes), my critiques have probably met resistance from (some) members of Stony Plain's community who know of my work.

In response to the question, I often explain that some people from Stony Plain and the Stony Plain area do know about my work, and their responses to the work vary. Some people are annoyed with the critiques, and ask: "why are you picking on Stony Plain?" Other people are indifferent, and suggest the work is "merely an academic exercise" that is interesting but which is unable to change the "way things really are in the Town". For others, the work resonates. Upon hearing about the work that I do, the critiques I make, and the stories I tell, these people offer up their stories about similar experiences and/or their own critiques of and challenges to community, difference, policy, multiculturalism, and representation that operate within Stony Plain.

On further reflection however, there is something about the question, "Do people in Stony Plain know that you do this work?" that troubles me. What troubles me is that, although this dissertation exposes and disrupts particular representations of Stony Plain as a good community and heritage tourism town, and therefore probably makes Stony Plain leaders, Town boosters, and concerned citizens uncomfortable or even angry, the themes that I interrogate are not unique, confined, or limited to Stony Plain. When one engages in a case study of an identifiable place, such as Stony Plain, the particularities of the case study can deflect scrutiny away from similar problems that are being encountered or questions that are being asked of communities/social relationships all over the world.

Given that many different communities/configurations of people are struggling with negotiations/tensions around questions of communit(y/ies), identity(y/ies) and place(s), the question , "do people in Stony Plain know that you do this work?" appears to confine my work and its importance to people who are invested in the making and representing of Stony Plain as a community. I would, therefore, like to propose a different question: "Why would it be productive for readers (readers both invested in Stony Plain as well as others) to read my essays about Stony Plain?" I believe this question is useful, for it invites readers to recognize how historical conditions help to create normative discourses of community and belonging, as well as to reflect upon and politicise normative conceptualisations of community, identity, community development, public policy, tourism and representation.

For example, people who are invested in the articulation of community and community development within Stony Plain could read my work and reflect upon how Stony Plain's discourses of community, belonging, heritage, multiculturalism and community development have been shaped through historical social processes and, in turn, then operate to shape, limit and police what is to count as legitimate community within contemporary Stony Plain's social relationships. In this sense, Stony Plain's turn to heritage tourism can be read as productive and enabling of many (normal) citizens. At the same time, it can recognize that this particular manifestation of Stony Plain as good community and good heritage tourism town is problematic for those Stony Plain residents/citizens who do not "fit into" or who are Othered through normative categories. By extension, readers are provided with the opportunity to use my Stony Plain stories as examples through which they might read and interrogate normative social relationships and social practices, as well as the place of the Other within their own communit(y/ies) (social relationships and practices).

The "interruption" (Nancy, 1991) of Stony Plain's normative conceptions of community then, serves as a pedagogical tool that can help readers toward a kind of cultural and representational literacy by historicizing and politicising the terms and conditions of community and difference that readers may assume are natural and therefore take for granted. In turn, cultural literacy helps to create political readers who can (potentially) influence and generate individual and social change within their own communit(y/ies).

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